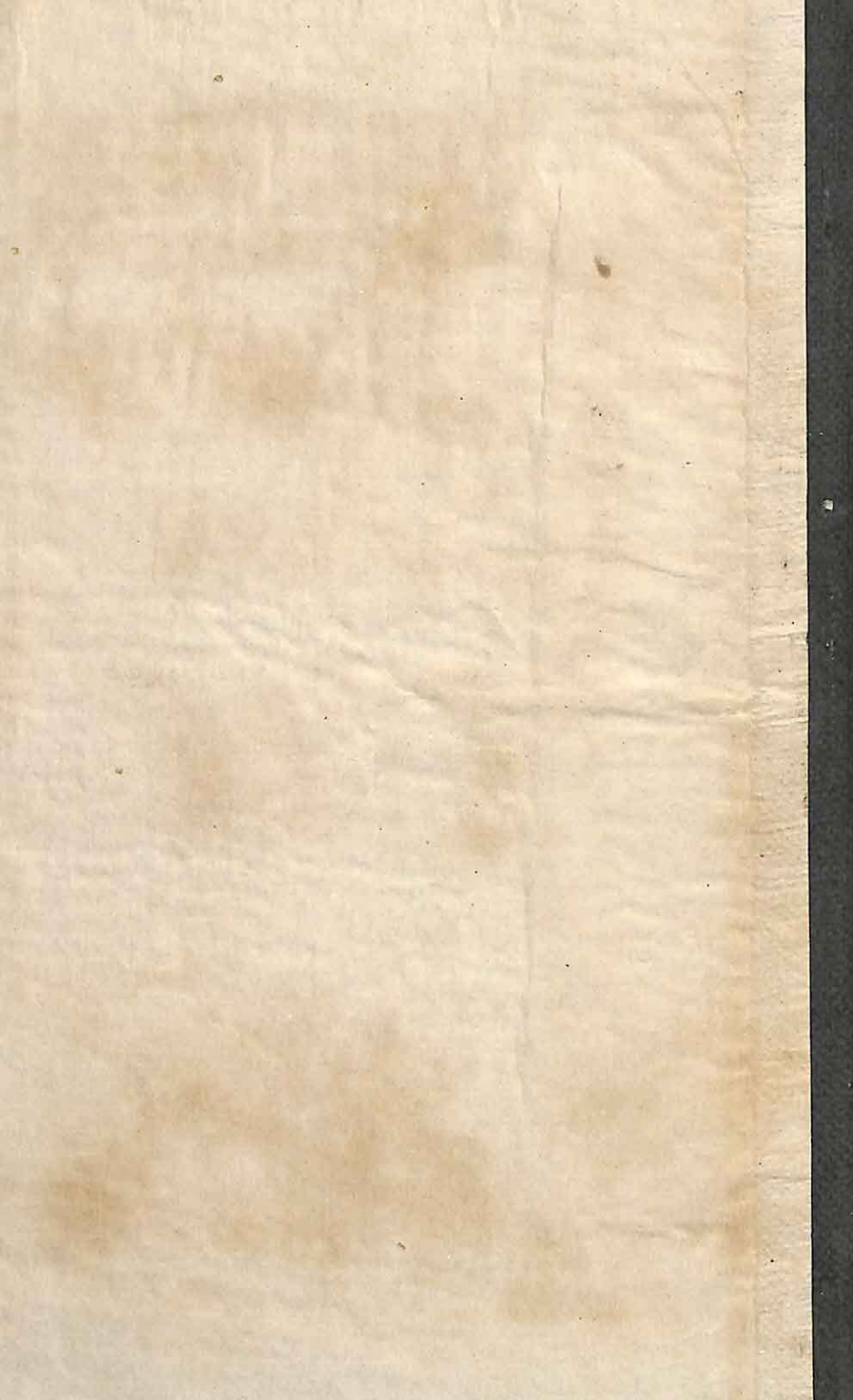
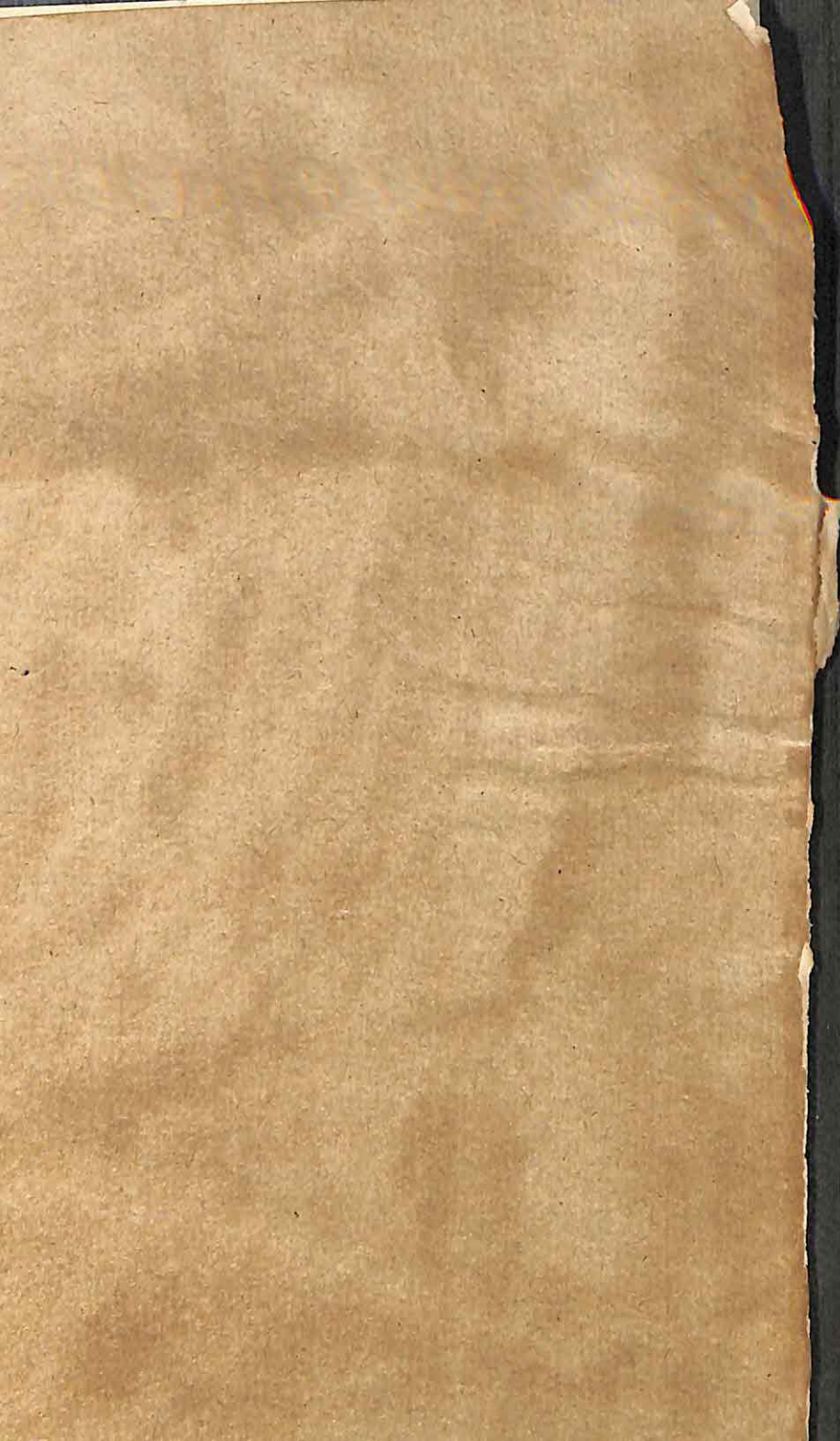


WAR HANDICAPPED
CHILDREN

T. BROUSE





PROBLEMS IN
EDUCATION

EAR-HANDICAPPED CHILDREN



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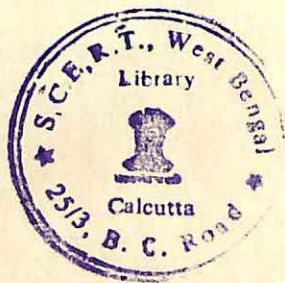
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WAR-HANDICAPPED CHILDREN

Report on the European Situation
by Dr. THÉRÈSE BROSE.



UNESCO

*Publication N° 439 of the United Nations
Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
19, Avenue Kleber, Paris 16°
First published 1950. Printed in France
by l'Imprimerie Chantenay.*

S.C.E.R.T., West Bengal
Date 20-4-59
Acc. No. 1382

Binding

371.91
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PREFACE

At the Second Session of the General Conference, held in Mexico City in November 1947, Unesco was made responsible for the survey with which the present report deals. The resolution defining it runs as follows :

Resolution 1.7. WAR-HANDICAPPED CHILDREN.

The Director-General is instructed :

- 1.7.1. To draw up a plan of study and action on the educational problems of war-handicapped children, in collaboration with the national and international organizations concerned;
- 1.7.2. To obtain from experts in different countries information and factual reports, and to institute a field survey of the most significant experiments made in that connection;
- 1.7.3. To analyse the documents and draft a report.

This resolution was part of the programme of the Department of Reconstruction but, owing to its importance from the point of view of education, the responsibility of carrying it out devolved upon the Department of Education. It was no isolated undertaking but a development of the sustained concern which governments and charitable organizations expressed while the war was still in progress. The work involved fitted into a general scheme of research, whose scope is being constantly extended, to discover humane solutions for the problems raised.

Before the end of the war the Allied Ministers of Education met together in conference to consider the problems of post-war education. In 1945, the Conference appointed a Commission of Enquiry to study "special educational problems in the liberated countries"; that Commission reported in January 1946. At that conference the United Nations Specialized Agency for Education, Science and Culture, which is now Unesco, was established and Unesco's interest in the progress of a task with which its own establishment was linked is thus readily understandable. In 1947, the educational reconstruction missions in Europe and the East, the Secretariat's

publications¹ dealing with the difficulties of post-war education, and a preliminary report on the problems of war-handicapped children all bear witness to the Organization's constant concern with the problems dealt with in the present report.

Work on the programme which is the subject of this report was begun on April 1, 1948. The field surveys were therefore limited to a period of five months and were necessarily confined to a small number of European countries,² selected either because they were near at hand or because they presented a particularly urgent problem or a representative experiment in re-education. This limitation of our own field of investigation accounts for the fact that the examples given in this report generally refer to the countries visited. Our references are, however, drawn also from other sources, thanks to the contacts we have established with international organizations, whose documents we have received. We have also attended various international meetings.³ In July, 1948, the Unesco Secretariat itself arranged an International Conference of Directors of Children's Communities at Trogen (Switzerland), which was attended by experts in psychology, education and psychiatry.⁴

Such a survey as this is, we feel, of world-wide interest, as all the experts agree that the educational problems of war-handicapped children and the solutions they require are similar throughout the world.

Our report will therefore be an attempt at a synthesis which, it is hoped, will help in the study of these broad educational questions in accordance with the spirit of Unesco's Constitution.

¹ *The Teacher and the Post-War Child*, prepared by Leonard S. Kenworthy, November 1946, 47 pp., illustrated, 30 cents or 1/6d (publication 11). *Going to School in War-Devastated Countries*, Leonard S. Kenworthy. Published jointly by Unesco and the Commission for International Educational Reconstruction. 1947, 20 pp.

² Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom. (Unesco missions had been sent to Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia in 1947). Many of the statistics or examples quoted in the text are extracted from the reports on these missions, which are not included in the list of references, as they were not published separately in full.

³ (i) Studies and lectures on war-handicapped children at Unesco's seminar at Poděbrady (Prague), under the title of *Childhood Education for a World Society*, August, 1948.

(ii) Participation in the work of the Refugees Commission at the meeting of the General Council of the International Union for Child Welfare, Stockholm, August, 1948.

(iii) Participation in the International Conference on the *Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders*, convened by the United Nations (Division of Social Activities) in Paris in October, 1948.

⁴ A report of the Conference's work has been published by Unesco, under the title of *Children's Communities*.

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

Links between the educational problem and the medical and social problems. Some statistics

The world-wide catastrophe which overwhelmed the children affected them physically so deeply and so obviously that public opinion was far more concerned with the urgent demands of poverty and sickness than with educational problems. In this connection, we may mention the declaration made at the meeting on children which met at Lake Success on 26 September, 1948 and at which 26 nations were represented :

"Before we try to teach the children of the world about brotherhood and the rights of man, we must feed, clothe and care for them. It is useless to talk of democracy to a starving child. If, however, he is fed and given clothes and a home, these things will teach him something about brotherhood."¹

This statement, however, has a profound educational significance, confirming what we now know of children's development — the close connection between health and education.

In fact, under health we must include the physical, emotional and mental elements which go to make the child; no part of that complex unity can suffer injury without damage to health as defined by Dr. Brock Chisholm, the Director-General of the World Health Organization : "Health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity".²

In the light of such a definition, education ceases to be merely the art of teaching : the concept is broadened and becomes the aid which environment can give to the psychological growth of a human being, to enable him to develop a full and original personality, normal in himself and in his relations with society. Furthermore, by disclosing the influence of the mind on the body, the discoveries of psycho-somatic science have made of education a real factor in

¹ Chester Bowles, "Can We Unite for the Children?" *Picture Post* (London, 24 April 1948), vol. XXXIX., p. 18.

² Brock Chisholm, "Achievements of First World Health Assembly", *United Nations Bulletin* (Geneva, August 15, 1948, vol. 5, No. 4, p. 636.

preventive medicine for both the individual and society. The value of this idea is already so far recognized in practice that a French Minister of Health has stated that medico-pedagogical treatment for children is, in fact, in 90 per cent of the cases, educational treatment.¹

This makes us realize the educational responsibility which attaches to any sort of treatment: unskilled treatment may in fact develop in the child an antisocial attitude of aggressive dissatisfaction² or an inferiority complex.³

We must learn to diagnose the mental suffering which lurks beneath physical suffering. It is not always obvious, but it may leave far more serious and more lasting scars in the growing personality. We now know that the slightest errors which impose needless suffering on an infant may give rise in the future to terrible problems which must be met by those responsible for the education of millions of starving children.

The fact that statistics on educational matters are less full than those for physical suffering is not very serious. For the reasons given above, we may regard them as "super-imposable". That is sufficient reason for our interest as educationists in the following statistics.⁴

Two hundred and fifty million children throughout the world are starving, and in Europe 60,000,000 children in twelve different countries are in need of help.⁵ When the International Children's Emergency Fund was established, it had a scheme for aiding twenty million such children in the devastated countries for one year. As the sums collected were inadequate to meet the needs, however, the scheme had to be reduced to the provision of food for only four million children for six months, and a limited provision of medical aid.⁶ We may also mention that it estimated that in a single Eastern country, China, 65,000,000 children are utterly destitute.⁷

¹ Robert Prigent, "Coordination". Allocution à l'occasion d'une réunion du comité interministériel de coordination des services concernant la protection des mineurs en danger moral, délinquants ou délinquants et victimes de la guerre. *Sauvegarde* (Paris, mai 1947), vol. II, p. 6.

² Gwendolen E. Chesters, *Some Findings on the Needs of Displaced Children*. Report presented at Meeting of Directors of Children's Villages, 4-11 July 1948, Trogen, Switzerland. Paris, 25 June 1948. (Unesco /ED/Conf. 1/11), pp. 5-6.

³ Julie Eve Vajkai, "Dependent Children", *Material for Editors of Junior Red Cross Magazines* (Geneva, 1947), vol. XXIII., No. 1, pp. 17-20.

⁴ "Methods of Child Relief", Conference on the various forms of relief and their administration. *International Child Welfare Review* (Geneva, 1947), vol. I, n° 5-6, p. 221.

⁵ The figures included in this report are drawn from many different sources, which we quote, and are not intended to be a statistical statement guaranteed by Unesco.

⁶ Vajkai, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁷ Bowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 and 18.

⁸ American-Oriental Friendship Association, Inc. [Report on the] *Chiang Memorial Children's Village, Chungking, Szechuen, China*. September 10, 1948, p. 1.

The foregoing general statistics and the more detailed figures regarding the educational situation which follow, reveal beyond question that the principal difficulty is the magnitude of the problem; that difficulty is all the more serious because practical assistance is often the prerequisite for the solution of the educational problem. It is therefore important that in education we should take what advantage we can of circumstances, however temporary they may be, and ensure that they do not hinder the work. Are we, technically, in a position to satisfy that requirement?

The statements made by the social workers who undertook this work after the Liberation might incline us to pessimism: "The very numbers involved", as one of them said, "and the degree of their need are tending to induce a feeling of impotence in anyone surveying the field".¹ However, certain cheering facts could be discovered from the examination of such children even at a time when their misery was still acute.

The basic problems are everywhere similar. We read in the reports of the International Conferences on Social Service² that "the British delegates were impressed by the similarity between the problems experienced in the various countries"; the same impression emerges from the first meeting of the International Study Weeks for Child Victims of the War;³ we heard it confirmed at the Trogen Conference; and it is reiterated whenever people from different countries meet. It will therefore be possible to re-educate these children on a common psychological basis, adapted to the differences of cultures.

Nature of this educational problem as encountered throughout the world

Close examination of the nature of psychological suffering in war-handicapped children reveals that it is not the actual events of war, such as bombardment and military operations, which have affected these children emotionally;⁴ with their love of adventure and their

¹ Margot Hicklin, *War Damaged Children*. Some aspects of recovery. London, Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, 1946, p. 2.

² British National Committee of Social Service, *Reconstruction Papers*. Problems of war-time social service. Prepared for submission to the International Conference of Social Work at The Hague, September 11th-19th, 1947, and subsequently revised. London, National Council of Social Service, February 1948, p. 2.

³ O.L. Forel, "Semaines internationales d'Études pour l'Enfance victime de la Guerre", *Revue suisse de psychologie et de psychologie appliquée* (Berne 1946), vol. V, n° 1, p. 61.

⁴ *Report on Present-Day Psychological Problems in the Netherlands*. Presented to the International Conference of Social Work at The Hague, September 11th-19th, 1947, by A. J. de Leeuw-Aalbers, E.C. Lekkerkerker and A. Querido, p. 1; Dorothy Burlingham and Anna Freud, *Young Children in War-Time*. A year's work in a residential war nursery. London, G. Allen and Unwin, 1942, p. 41.

British National Committee of Social Service, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
Marguerite Loosli-Usteri, "Les effets de la guerre sur la vie psychique des enfants". Offprint from the *Revue internationale de l'Enfant* (Genève, 1943), vol. VII, n° 1-5, p. 5.

interest in destruction and movement, they can get used to the greatest dangers, and do not even realize the risk, provided that they can keep with them the protector who, in their childish hearts, represents security and that, at the same time, they can clutch some familiar object in their arms.

What does affect a child is the influence of events on the emotional ties of the family, the rupture of the habitual living environment and, above all, the sudden loss of his mother.¹ All witnesses are agreed on that point; whenever a child showed unaccustomed terror (for instance during an air-raid) it was because the event was linked with some personal memory of suffering, such as the death of his father,² or because some panic-stricken grown-up had communicated his own fear to the child.³

We shall see repeatedly in the following account that the problem of war-handicapped children is, first and foremost, the problem of the educational relationship between the child and the adults who have charge of him. The children have been affected, firstly, by the disappearance of those closest to them who were bringing them up (their family, their teachers) and, secondly, by the general transformation of the social environment, with all the psychological consequences due to the war. In fact, the war has not only engendered material suffering like the great cataclysms of nature : it was the result of intolerant ideologies whose consequence in aggression the faulty education of the past was powerless to prevent, and has itself given rise to currents of emotion and thought in the adult world, to which children have been subjected, without understanding or previous warning of them. The war brought to light the enduring educational problem of every age on so vast and spectacular a scale that careful analysis of the experience of the war enables us to make practical deductions for education which are almost universally applicable. The post-war educational problem is not only that of interrupted schooling or of the rehabilitation and social reintegration of children whose physical and psychological development has been affected; it is also the problem of discovering a type of education which may be able to prevent the repetition of such social cataclysms. Unesco's programme itself is based

Quelques données sur le problème des enfants et adolescents juifs de Belgique pendant l'occupation allemande et après la libération. Report presented by Ida Stern at the International Conference of Social Work, Brussels, August 1947, p. 7.
W. Lindesay Neustatter quoted in : *The Health of the School Child*. Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Education, 1939-45. London, H. M. Stationery Office, 1947, p. 71.
G. Heuyer, "Psychopathologie de l'enfance victime de la guerre", *Sauvegarde* (Paris, January 1948), vol. II, p. 3.
Mme. Grzywak-Kaczynska, "The Psychical Effects of War on Polish Children and Young People", *International Child Welfare Review* (Geneva, 1947), vol. I, n° 1, p. 11.

¹ *Report on Present-Day Psychological Problems in the Netherlands*, op. cit., p. 4.
Burlingham and Freud, op. cit., p. 29.

² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 33 and 39.

on the fundamental idea that "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed".

We cannot expect immediate results, for in a period of transition it is difficult to give the necessary education to the whole of the rising generation, but we shall certainly have results when enough "world citizens" have undergone the education which is essential for the development of an integrated personality. As Leibniz said: "Let me have charge of education and I will change the face of Europe in a hundred years".

One last general remark: the war made possible the large-scale study of human problems, and we in particular have been asked to carry out that study in the war-devastated countries. But when one is dealing with the problem of re-education, the element of deficiency in itself, rather than the historical label which describes its origin, has to be considered. This view is firmly maintained, even in the devastated countries, by educationists, who classify the various types of deficiency according to their demands on education, irrespective of whether they derive from the war. Moreover, the war also gave rise to problems affecting the children in countries which suffered less directly. The publications of the Mental Health Congress, held in London in August, 1948, provide abundant evidence of that fact. A fresh outbreak of juvenile delinquency and prostitution has, for example, been remarked on every continent, due to the break-up of homes and the presence of foreign troops.

The real problem of re-education is to provide all children handicapped by circumstances with the social environment (at home and at school) which they require, and to give ailing or abnormal children the chance of overcoming or correcting their deficiencies and continuing their temporarily more or less arrested development in the fullest possible measure. In other words, it is the very problem of education as we have defined it, but fraught with difficulties which are often hard to overcome.

As we shall see, many teachers have proved themselves equal to the task, but we must train thousands of educators who, in the midst of poverty and ruin, will be able to stir or stimulate in the child's mind that creative joy which is essential for individual balance and social harmony. This cannot of course, entirely repair the ravages of physical destitution, but mental health will be preserved until, finally, better living conditions relieve human suffering.

Even the so-called normal child will benefit from these educational methods, which have been tested in such difficult circumstances, and he, too, needs them greatly. Uprooted from society through the fault of the adult world, there is every likelihood that he, in his turn, will become an instigator of war when he is old enough to take part in the life of society. Only an education related

to the needs of the child's psychological development will be able to break the vicious circle enclosing both the individual and society.

Men of good will, always prepared to strive for freedom and for their ideals, deplore that the struggle should have to continue at the cost of so much human life and suffering. They call for a new form of education for these young people of the post-war world, determined to build a fresh civilization, so that they may do so without unleashing the horrors of war on other children.

In this introduction, we have tried to outline the real extent of the educational problem of war-handicapped children; it is a problem which embraces, at one and the same time, all those complex factors which make up a child's personality and govern his development, the indissoluble unity of the human being and the constant interaction of the environment on the child and the child on his environment.

It would thus not be enough to review the different types of deficiency by which war-handicapped children may be affected, in varying degrees and often at one time. It is essential—because they are so important—to begin by describing those great disruptions of the social order which are a primary factor in psychological disorders in children and which raise so many educational problems. Any education is, in fact, conditioned by the cultural environment and the different educators (the family, the school, various other groups)—a social structure which not only affects the teaching the child receives, but also governs the harmonious development of his body, his emotions and his intelligence. In this respect, war-handicapped children have all been deprived, though the extent of their deprivation varies with the gravity of the social dislocation. We shall see, however, that in spite of the seriousness of the situation, it does not seem entirely impossible to evolve, for these young people whose personalities have been mutilated in so many respects, the basic principles of an education corresponding to the ideal, enunciated in Unesco's Constitution, of suggesting "educational methods best suited to prepare the children of the world for the responsibilities of freedom".

PART I
PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE
DISRUPTION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

PART I
PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE
DEFINITION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

DISPLACED CHILDREN

The problem of displaced children is an integral part of the whole overwhelming problem of refugees. At the meeting of the General Council of International Union for Child Welfare at Stockholm in August, 1948, a specialized Committee which was set up to study this problem found that no accurate figures to describe the situation could be given.¹ Many of the figures cannot be checked either because of difficulties of organization or because it is physically impossible to take a census. Nevertheless, even the known figures are of some value as an indication of the extent of the situation.

Displaced children may be grouped into two main categories : those who were moved to other countries and those who were moved within the borders of their own country.

THOSE MOVED TO OTHER COUNTRIES

The numerical problem

Out of the 30,000,000 people who were "displaced" owing to the war² in Europe alone, 18,000,000 were cast out of their countries.³

The international implications of the refugee problem have been studied as a whole by the International Refugee Organization since 1 July 1947, but many refugees are not covered by that Organization and it has not yet been possible to examine a large number of those for whom it should care; moreover, the number of refugees is continually increasing. It was estimated that, by 31 March, 1948, 1,500,000 refugees were eligible for IRO's protection; in August, 1948, 625,265 were receiving attention from this organization⁴ (146,000 Poles, 134,000 Balts, 91,000 Ukrainians,

¹ Guido Poulin, "Refugee Children". Introductory Report presented to the General Council of the IUCW, Stockholm, August 1948. *International Child Welfare Review* (Geneva 1948), vol. II, n°s 4-5, pp. 221-222.

² Conférence internationale de la Croix-Rouge, XVII^e. Stockholm, August 1948, *Rapport du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge sur son activité pendant la seconde guerre mondiale* (1^{er} septembre 1939-30 juin 1947). II. L'agence centrale des prisonniers de guerre. Genève, Le Comité, 1948, p. 334.

³ Walter Robert Corti, "Le village d'enfants Pestalozzi à Trogen". Adaptation of an article in *Pro Juventute* (Zürich, May 1946), vol. XXVII, p. 4.

⁴ Poulin, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

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to quote a few detailed figures);¹ in addition, between 13 and 14 million *Volksdeutsche* and refugees from Eastern Germany² are not yet eligible for this international protection.

As regards children, the official figures for refugees who have received assistance show that a quarter of the known total consists of children under the age of 17, distributed as follows :

- 13.2% are under the age of 5;
- 5.1% are between 5 and 10 years old;
- 6.3% are between 10 and 17 years old.

The IRO estimates that 375,000 children are entitled to its care, but that only 153,817 are at present receiving attention. The IRO also estimates that the 13 or 14 million *Volksdeutsche* and refugees from Eastern Germany mentioned above include about 3,500,000 children. Out of the 153,817 children receiving care, 3,197 (or approximately 2 per cent) are "unaccompanied children".³ A rough check on the groups of refugees not receiving care shows that the proportion of such children is probably still larger.

Of these refugees 85 per cent are at present in Germany. But it should be mentioned, as an instance of the situation in other countries, that there were still 6,500 refugees in Denmark at the end of 1947. Denmark had also at that time about 85,000 German refugees in 15 camps (the latter not entitled to receive care from the IRO);⁴ the Netherlands still had 20,000; the children belonging to these refugee groups inevitably presented special problems in each of these countries.⁵ In Austria, there were 500,000 foreign refugees in a total population of 7,000,000.⁶

Although the figures we have quoted are not complete, they are sufficient to indicate the alarming extent of the problem; they relate only to our surveys of the continent of Europe in 1948. Every day new refugees swell the already heavy total of the aftermath of the second world war; in the Near East, for instance, out of a refugee population of 800,000 there are 200,000 children of school age receiving no education.⁷ These figures indicate the

¹ Dumon Stansley, "Organização Internacional de Refugiados. Declarações...". *Itamaraty* (Rio de Janeiro, 30 September 1948), n° 22, pp. 22 and 24.

² Poulin, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 226-227.

⁴ Conférences internationales du Service social, *Conférence internationale spéciale sur les problèmes urgents dans les zones dévastées de l'Europe*. Scheveningen, La Haye, 15-19 septembre 1947. Séance spéciale consacrée aux réfugiés et aux personnes déplacées, 18 septembre 1947. Bruxelles, 1947, pp. 11 et 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁶ Comité international de la Croix-Rouge. Division médicale. *État sanitaire des populations civiles dans quelques pays européens éprouvés par la guerre*. Genève, Le Comité, June 1948, p. 9.

⁷ Unesco, *Report on the Educational and Cultural Needs of Refugees in the Middle East*. (Prepared by P. N. Kirpal) Paris, March 8th, 1949. (Unesco/Rep./17), p. 3.

magnitude of the task which educators would discover were full statistics for the world available.

The psycho-pedagogical problem

Two types of difficulty confront those responsible for the education of displaced children : firstly, warped personality resulting from the sufferings of war and, secondly, the inferiority complex which grows more serious every day in children who have still no stability and most of whom have no longer any country they can call their own.

No better illustration of this psychological type can be found than in the reports of our survey in Poland (where movements of population were the most serious), and the many examples discussed at the Trogen Conference.

In Warsaw, the surveys carried out by the Institute of Social Hygiene immediately after the war showed that 58 per cent of Polish children had had to move from one place to another, in some cases as many as nine times; 73.2 per cent of them ¹ lost one or more members of their families in tragic circumstances. Here is one piece of evidence : "I lost my whole family—father, mother, and four brothers—shot as hostages. I received the news of their death with apparent calm but, internally, I went through hell; it was brandy which saved me; I drank it constantly for ten days."

At the Pestalozzi Children's Village in Switzerland some of the children taken in had not only moved several times in a few years but had also twice changed their language, social environment, culture, religion, and even nationality.

We should also mention a group of Balt children whose history is given in a report submitted to the International Conferences on Social Service. In October, 1944, the Reich Commissar ordered an orphanage in Riga of 130 children to be evacuated to Germany; the children were illegitimate or waifs, most of them under 3 years old. After several months of wandering from town to town, under most miserable conditions, these children and the few teachers with them were put aboard a ship sailing for an island near Kiel and were at sea for two months. In July, 1945, they were found by the British army, which handed them over to UNRRA in a small Baltic port. "It is impossible to describe the moral and physical condition of these children when they were found", we are informed by the author of the report, and he adds : "I need only mention that, two years after they were liberated and in spite of all the care which has been lavished on them, several of them are still receiving special

¹ Mme Grzywak-Kaczynska, *op. cit.*, p. II.

medical attention and some of them are still in hospitals." These children are certainly not yet at the end of their wanderings. They have been sent to various "D.P." camps in Germany and, like so many thousands of others, are still waiting to find a permanent home.

The psychologists who worked with UNRRA in looking after displaced children have outlined for us their psychological characteristics. They are described at length in the reports submitted to the Trogen Conference. We shall give only a brief summary of them here.

Sometimes these children suffer from repression and inferiority complexes : dumbness, difficulty in expression, distrust, and profound suffering caused by the sense of having lost all individuality, of being different from others, of being just a "number" for whom nobody cares. Sometimes they are morbidly aggressive, indiscriminately demanding; conscious of the injustice of their lot, they have acquired a precocious maturity which is in contrast with certain features too childish for their age.

A comparative study of the mentality of displaced children and of those brought up in stable and normal circumstances brings to light considerable anomalies in the former; for them the present is only an ephemeral phase which they tend to neglect, their interest being concentrated upon the future and the past. But the past is often nothing but an accumulation of trials and leaves in the child's memory nothing on which to build. We were told by an expert at the Trogen Conference that this makes the acquisition of new knowledge difficult. In order to compensate for this blank in the child's past, it is important to give him a positive aim for the future. Those who have no such aim show signs of confusion, depression, uncertainty or rebelliousness. Any sort of future gives meaning to the child's life as it assumes a specific form in his imagination and makes educational rehabilitation possible. (That fact is fully appreciated in Zionist Homes, in which the active enthusiasm evoked by plans for the future tends to fill the gap of the past which is lost.) Displaced children are only too willing to devote to the country which welcomes them the effort which a normal child would want to devote to his family.¹

In the course of our many visits to children's communities, we saw indeed how much the children need a country of their own if they are to be psychologically normal and to feel "like other people". In a world in which it is still necessary, for legal purposes, to have a nationality, their youthful independence is not strong enough for

¹ Marguerite Loosli-Usteri, "La vie psychique des enfants déracinés", *Revue internationale de l'Enfant* (Genève, 1946), vol. X, nos 1-3, pp. 7-15.
Report on the Children's Village Kfar Jeladiem Ithnah, Apeldoorn (Holland).
 [Presented to the Conference of Directors of Children's Villages, Trogen, 4-11 July 1948, by E. Mendes da Costa], p. 6.

them to become world citizens immediately (as might have been expected in view of their position as stateless persons), without being first a citizen of a smaller community; for them, international understanding calls for the exchange and the sharing of different cultural heritages, and we have to enable them to give others something of their own country. It is equally important to remedy the instability of their circumstances without delay and to give them back a permanent environment from which they may at last derive the security of which they have been so long and so wholly deprived. In addition, we have the educational handicaps which make them sometimes almost illiterate in what used to be, or is to become, their language. That gives some idea of the extent of the educational problem in both the wider and the narrower senses. This problem, among many others, was discussed at length at the Trogen Conference.¹

The condition of the "displaced" does not affect only the victims themselves; refugee camps in a foreign country give the local children a wrong idea of the value of human relationships. As they cannot understand that it is only for material reasons that such refugees have to stay in isolation in a camp, the children of the neighbourhood harbour a "superiority complex" towards them, which is often accentuated by the abuse of grown-ups who are equally uncomprehending. American educational missions have drawn particular attention to the gravity of the situation in Germany, where almost all the displaced person's camps are in fact located. There are so many of them that it is reckoned that all German children are living in communities including one or more such camps in which other children live apart, attending their own schools.² To give only one example, 75 special schools providing for 10,000 Jewish children have been set up in the American zone of occupation by a Jewish Education Council.³

Even when they leave the camps and are placed elsewhere in one way or another, in fitting them into society there arise difficulties the gravity of which must not be underestimated. IRO documents give us information about the varying fates of children restored to a stable environment: some are repatriated, others restored to their parents and yet others settled in a foreign country. Some of them disappear and may well increase the number of vagrants.

One group of displaced children in Germany presented special problems for the workers of the former Preparatory Commission of IRO. In order to increase the population of the Reich during the

¹ Chesters, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

² Robert J. Havighurst, "German Schools in 1947", *The Elementary School Journal* (Chicago, April 1948), vol. XLVIII., p. 419.

³ United Jewish Educational and Cultural Organization (Europe), *Report of the Second Conference on Jewish Educational Reconstruction*. Paris 23rd-28th October, 1947. London, The Organization [1948], p. 18.

war, children from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Belgium and France were moved to Germany to be settled in foster families selected as racially and politically suitable. It is at present impossible to reckon the numbers of such children, but it is known that, among others, 200,000 Poles were moved in that way. It is now difficult for social workers to decide whether a child is of German or foreign origin, for the children were generally given new names and have themselves forgotten their history. Incidentally, lists of children showing their original and adoptive names are sometimes traced and, in some cases, when one talks to the children in their mother tongue, one can stir the memory of names and relations who had been quite forgotten. The educational problem here is extremely difficult; when it is possible to trace some member of the family in the native country, the child is generally sent back there. In some cases, however, social workers hesitate to take the final decision, when the family does not appear to offer the same promise of security as the German foster family to which the child has grown attached. One of these workers even wondered whether, when the family is not traced, it is justifiable to expose a child to the risk of life in an orphanage in his own country, the language of which he has forgotten. But, on the other hand, the child may one day learn that he was grafted into his present environment for the purposes of racialism and Nazi civilization and he may bitterly reproach the people who dared not send him back to the country of his birth.¹

The solutions

We can see how many educational problems are bound up with the most complex social and legal questions for such de-nationalized children. The solutions should therefore have regard both to the technical problem of educational methods, resulting from the psychological condition of the children, and to the problem of the reconstruction of the social environment. The actual re-education of such children will be dealt with in the following chapters; here we shall merely mention the all-important educational requirement for children who have been moved from one country to another, namely, to ensure that this education rests on firm foundations, and that they have a purpose and a centre of interest, in other words, to settle the child and provide him with a country of his own and the language and culture which that implies. The efforts at education which are being made in the meantime can be no more than a poor

¹ I. de Warchawiak, *Searching out Children*. Report prepared for the International Conference of Social Service, The Hague, September 1947. (ICSW/47), p. 9.
Sigrid Helliesen Lund, *Brief Notes on Post-War Conditions and Children's Welfare Work Carried out in Norway*. Report prepared for the Conference of Directors of Children's Villages, Trogen, July 5-11, 1948, p. 2.

palliative and can effect no real cure; the social environment of a displaced child is, by definition, unfavourable to education. The restoration of the social environment is thus urgently necessary, not only because continued existence as a displaced person hampers re-education, but because, as most of the children are living in camps, their life intensifies their inferiority and abnormality complex and makes future rehabilitation daily more uncertain.

It is therefore natural that, with our interest in education, we should collaborate with all the bodies working to provide these children with a country and a stable situation. That task indeed is not Unesco's own, but to the extent that any sound and normal education can be guaranteed only on that condition, it is our duty to co-operate in the work. The Committee on Refugees, at the meeting of the General Council of IUCW, concentrated on that task. Its records recall the constant efforts of IRO in that direction and the difficulties which beset the path : at 31 December, 1947, 1,975 of the refugee children eligible for the IRO's care were being looked after and maintained; 2,108 had been given papers, although they were receiving no care; and 1,535 had still no papers. The resolutions passed by the Committee therefore suggest that the United Nations should summon an international conference to find a solution for the problem of stateless children and to grant children who are stateless or whose nationality is not determined the diplomatic protection of the United Nations.¹

THOSE MOVED WITHIN THEIR OWN COUNTRY

The survey carried out and the documents collected in the course of our enquiries show us two different categories of children who have been displaced within their own country; some represent the aftermath of the war, while the others are in an even more tragic situation as a result of current hostilities, and urgent security measures are necessary for them. We propose to examine both problems :

(a) *The number of persons displaced by the war within their own countries* (who number some 22,000,000 in Europe) still raises tremendous problems. The destruction of property which accompanied the invasion and military operations was indeed so great that many refugees are still unable to rebuild their ruined homes. The figures of destruction speak for themselves.

In 1939, there were 512,000,000 people in Europe, living in about 196,000,000 dwellings. The war destroyed 30,000,000 of

these dwellings and, in 1947, 150,000,000 people were still living without proper shelter. In 1946, the number of children with no roof over their heads was :

1,300,000 in France;
8,000,000 in Germany;
6,500,000 in Russia;
1,000,000 in Hungary;
2,000,000 in Yugoslavia;
3,000,000 in Italy.¹

In the last-named country, there were still, at the end of 1947, 5,000 homeless children in one town of 120,000 inhabitants.²

Finland provides a typical example of the problem of national refugees and its psychological implications. In that country the problem is particularly serious owing to the territorial losses and extensive movements of population. It had been possible to resettle only 500,000 out of the 4,000,000 displaced persons by August 1947—only about an eighth of these being war refugees. Foreign sociologists studied the problem there for 15 months and the Gallup Institute organized a number of polls to throw light on the psychological problems of the whole population and thus necessarily including those of the children. There is a psychological problem, as always, in the regrettably numerous cases where the situation has to be considered "temporary". Indeed, evacuated people recover their enterprise and perseverance as soon as they have an opportunity of beginning life again—practical, normal life without problems. Hopeless insecurity and communal life with too many other people give rise to laziness and depression. The anti-social behaviour of young people, in this as in every other case, is due to the fact that what is temporary provides no scope for constructive energy. When they have that scope once more, they investigate the essential values of life, and education may then appeal to their awakening sense of responsibility.³

Similarly in the Netherlands, there are psychological disorders resulting from the lack of accommodation, which is an indirect result of the war; the problem of the "unsocial families" has been aggravated by the fact that it has not yet been possible to associate them with other families, and that many are still living in camps.⁴

In Germany, the proportion of child refugees from the East represents almost one-third of all the children attending school in the small towns and villages.⁵ In the town of Bremen nearly 4,000

¹ Corti, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

² *Picture Post* (London, 24 April 1948), vol. XXXIX., No. 4, p. 21.

³ Conférences internationales du Service social, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁴ *Report on Present-Day Psychological Problems in the Netherlands*, p. 1.

⁵ Havighurst, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

school-children are refugees.¹ The situation gives rise in the schools to hostility between the children; the refugees continue to feel strangers in a strange land and cherish the hope of returning to their own district, while the others resent the refugees as a social group.

The adolescents who no longer have to attend school wander about in gangs and refuse to take their place in the life of society. Statistics for the British zone mention 40,000 of these young Germans (including 20,000 in Hamburg alone) and for the American zone, 30,000.² The educational problem they represent is complicated, as we shall see later, and the only foundation for their re-education must be return to a settled life. Many social service organizations are making practical efforts to save these young wanderers. Among others, the Pestalozzi Village Association looks upon the task as an urgent mission in all of Europe and is trying to establish homes which will guarantee a certain stability and, for adolescents, colonies on a rural or craft basis which may be able to become self-supporting.³

The few examples we have given show that children who have been moved within their own countries present serious educational problems owing to the uncertainty of their existence, although they do not suffer from the major handicap of statelessness. It is essential to establish these children, too, in a normal environment.

(b) *During hostilities*, the education of displaced children gives rise to even more difficult problems. In Greece, for instance, owing to the present circumstances, 120,000 children have been displaced and are eking out an existence in different ways. According to statistics compiled in August, 1948, 90,000 had taken refuge, either alone or with their families, in the towns close to the battlefield; without organized assistance or shelter, they had to rely on what help the army could give them (only 4,000 of them were noted as visiting canteens), and no education could be given them; 15,000 had been evacuated and housed in communities established at short notice. The considerable number of children which each such community was obliged to take in (between 700 and 800) only allowed them, at the very most, to be given such instruction as was necessary to avoid being unduly retarded at school; it was quite impossible to arrange a fuller education to take account of difficulties of character and the development of social personality. The shortage of teachers increased the difficulty of the task. An experiment

¹ *The Economic, Social and Domestic Conditions of the Schoolchildren in Post-War Bremen*. Findings of an official inquiry...in the Bremen schools in summer 1947. Bremen, H. Krohn [1948], p. 18.

² "I.U.C.W. News. Mission in Germany" *International Child Welfare Review* (Geneva, 1948), vol. II, n° 1, pp. 26-27.

³ Holger Hoffman, *Comment rendre sédentaire la jeunesse allemande sans foyer*. Zurich, Association du Village d'Enfants Pestalozzi, 15 August 1948, pp. 1-2.

was made on the Island of Rhodes, where a hundred particularly difficult children were removed from an overcrowded community so that they could be given an education in which all the scouts of the neighbourhood helped; after a few weeks the results obtained were already excellent from the educational point of view.

We must also mention that, in a report from the Greek organization PIKPA, it is estimated that 13,500 children were moved to Central Europe;¹ these would therefore fall rather within the category of children removed to another country.

The children in all the theatres of war have suffered to a greater or less degree from educational upsets due to the circumstances of war, and the problem of re-education with which we are faced today is therefore vast and complex. This raises the very important question of what measures could be taken to ensure that, in time of war, education is sufficiently well organized to avert these dreadful consequences.

Specialists in child psychology emphasize that necessity. For instance, Dorothy Burlingham and Anna Freud point out that psychological injuries have consequences which are less obvious and less generally recognized than physical suffering, but that the disorders to which they give rise are even more lasting.² To remedy such disturbances in the child's psychology which are linked with external circumstances, these authors maintain that even greater thought must be devoted to the attention to be given to children in war-time than in peace-time. It is essential to investigate the psychological needs of the individual child and to train teachers capable of educating him in conformity with those needs.

During the last war, psychological problems among evacuated children were the subject of some very interesting observations in Great Britain. The homes for difficult children which had to be set up became experimental centres for child guidance work and at present rank among the best re-education centres. The nursery schools organized for the children of working women were also inspired by a keen interest in education, as is shown by post-war publications. This proves that even during hostilities, and in homes for evacuated children, it was possible to arrange a form of education which took into account psychological difficulties resulting from external circumstances. Any plans for precautionary evacuation should therefore include not only the necessary practical arrangements but also plans for providing specialized education where necessary.

¹ *Report of the Greek Delegation at the General Council of the International Union for Child Welfare in Stockholm from August 10th-16th, 1948.* Athens, G. S. Christou, 1948, p. 5.

² Burlingham and Freud, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

The question of children's welfare in war time was taken up at the international level by a special committee of the General Council of the IUCW at Stockholm and later by the International Congress of the Red Cross.

Still more recently, in December, 1948, an expert's report on child refugees from the Middle East¹ lays stress upon the need for combining educational care immediately with the material assistance measures, in order to prevent psychological disorders in these children, to minimize their isolation from society and the resultant delinquency and to avoid subsequent deficiencies, which might be complex and lasting. The educational problem can be considered as part of a programme of assistance without affecting the latter adversely, but rather the contrary, as we saw in Chapter I.

To sum up, the educational problem of displaced children calls for solutions, at both the national and the international level, which must be more than purely educational measures, and imply both social welfare work and legislative intervention when necessary.

Furthermore, so long as a child remains "displaced", it is important to ensure not only that he goes to school but also that the school is capable of developing his latent initiative. The whole of the child's temporary environment must be organized to help him overcome the disastrous psychological effects of a present which holds no interest and a future which is amorphous. That is the most urgent problem with which education must deal.

¹ Unesco, *Report on the Educational and Cultural Needs of Refugees in the Middle East*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

ORPHANS AND HOMELESS CHILDREN

For the purposes of education, the definition of an orphan covers not only a child who has lost his father and mother or one of them; it also covers a child who, for practical purposes, has no home and, for material or moral reasons, cannot receive from his parents the care to which he is entitled and who therefore must be looked after by society.

THE NUMERICAL PROBLEM

According to the official figures of the International Committee of the Red Cross, 13,000,000 children in Europe have lost their natural protectors. Some examples will give an idea of the various aspects of the question in different countries as things stood in 1947 and 1948 (see the references we give); we have been told, incidentally, that statistics are difficult to collect and, for certain countries, there are obvious gaps.

In Albania, 35,000 children were the wards of the State, including 10,000 orphans in the strict sense of the term.¹

In Germany, a third of the children had lost their fathers.² In Bremen alone 22,000 schoolchildren, or 47.7 per cent of the total child population, had no normal family.³

In Austria, there were 29,000 orphans in institutions in Vienna alone.⁴

In Belgium, the crux of the war orphan problem is the 1,500 children of deported Jews, including some 1,200 who are not Belgian by nationality.⁵

¹ Conférence internationale de la Croix-Rouge. XVII^e. Stockholm August 1948. *op. cit.* III. Actions de secours. Genève, Le Comité, June 1948, p. 437.

² Havighurst, *op. cit.*, pp. 419-420.

³ *The Economic, Social and Domestic Conditions of the Schoolchildren in Post-War Bremen*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁴ Marjorie Banks, *The Children of Europe*. Broadcast by the B.B.C., 26th September 1948. Written and produced by M. Banks. London, B.B.C. 1948, p. 16.

⁵ Olga Gurvic, *Quelques problèmes de l'enfance abandonnée*. Rapport sur le travail du Fichier central de l'Enfance annexé à la Direction centrale de l'Union o.s.e. Genève, L'Union, 1946, p. 5.

Quelques données sur le problème des enfants et adolescents juifs de Belgique pendant l'occupation allemande et après la libération, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

In Bulgaria, there are 38,500 orphans and waifs, including 32,000 orphans, out of a total of 2,000,000 children below the age of 15.¹

In Finland, one child in every 24 is a war orphan; in all there are some 49,500 orphans under 18.²

In France, there are 250,000 orphans, including 20,000 who have lost both father and mother, out of a total of approximately 12,000,000 minors.³ At a conservative estimate, the total number of places in French orphanages is between 60,000 and 70,000.⁴

In Great Britain, the official statistics for 1946 show a total of 124,000 children without normal homes. There are 3,600 war orphans in the care of the Ministry of Pensions and boarded out with families, and 75,900 other homeless children are shown as having been found places, 22,000 in families and 53,900 in institutions; there were 45,400 abnormal children in families or special homes.⁵

In Greece, out of 2,750,000 children, 380,000 are orphans, 250,000 being under 15; 326,000 come under the Ministry of Public Assistance. Of them, 34,000 have lost both parents, 218,000 their fathers and 74,000 their mothers. (12 per cent of the child population are orphans). State orphanages care for 5,000 of these. In addition, 25 private orphanages have taken in 2,500 children and 10 homes have accepted abandoned infants.

In Hungary, the total number of orphans is 200,000, including 60,000 war orphans. Out of 40,000 children in Budapest, 3,000 are orphans supported by the State.⁶

In Italy, it is believed that the 390,000 known orphans or homeless children are only a part of the total, which is not yet complete. The state has placed 115,000 orphans in 693 institutions and 250,000 are supported by private charitable organizations. In addition, there are 25,000 waifs divided among 114 institutions. There are 40,000 waifs in Milan, 65,000 in Rome and 75,000 in Naples.⁷

In the Netherlands, the nation at present has as its wards a total of 3,000 war orphans. There are three main groups: 2,040 children of Jewish parents who died while deported; 300 children of non-

¹ "Living Conditions and Children's Needs. Bulgaria", *International Child Welfare Review* (Geneva, 1948), vol. 11, No. 1, p. 30.

² Comité international de la Croix-Rouge. Division médicale, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

³ Conférences internationales du Service social, *op. cit.* Rapport finlandais.

⁴ La Haye, September 1947.

⁵ Comité international de la Croix-Rouge. Division médicale, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁶ "La législation de l'enfance inadaptée. Rapport présenté au Comité inter-ministériel de coordination par L. Le Guillant et F. Liévois", *Sauvegarde* (Paris, January 1947), n° 7, p. 22.

⁷ Great Britain. Care of Children Committee, *Report*. London. H. M. Stationery Office, 1946 (Cmd. 6922), p. 27.

Comité international de la Croix-Rouge. Division médicale, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁸ *Picture Post*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

"Délégation de l'U.I.S.E. en Hongrie", *Revue internationale de l'Enfant* (Genève, 1945), vol. IX, n° 1-6, p. 108.

"Délégation de l'U.I.S.E. en Italie", *Revue internationale de l'Enfant* (Genève, 1945), vol. IX, n° 1-6, p. 110.

Jewish parents who died as a result of war operations; 660 children repatriated from Indonesia after the death of their parents, generally in concentration camps.

All these children are now boarded out with foster families although, for some of them, the problem has not yet been finally solved.

In Poland, as the result of the war, there are 500,000 children without father or mother and 700,000 without one parent. These figures may be too low, for the Head of the Assistance Service in Warsaw estimates that, though 100,000 orphans were registered by the Municipality, possibly as many as 30,000, not of school age, were not covered by the census. Even in 1946 some statistics of total numbers of orphans showed 1,700,000 of whom 300,000 were placed in families or State institutions.¹ The Ministry of Education is responsible for placing these children through its regional administrative branches. In 129 State homes, 10,200 children are housed, 6,400 in 101 municipal homes and 27,700 in 500 homes run by social organizations. Seventeen homes were to take in 1,800 children in the immediate future and 200 others were to receive a further 2,000 at a later date.

Rumania has reported 200,000 orphans.²

In Czechoslovakia, there are 50,000 orphans throughout the country who are cared for by the central "Association of Charitable Organizations" (in co-operation with the Ministry of Public Assistance). The Association has set up temporary homes to house the children before they are adopted; there are 72 in Moravia and 43 in Bohemia as well as 17 boarding-out centres. In addition, there are 225 orphanages in those two districts. In Slovakia, 5,000 orphans have been boarded out with families by the State; the Youth Welfare Centre has placed 800 in 8 orphanages. There are probably some 4,600 waifs, 400 of whom are in special homes. The American Joint Distribution Committee has its own boarding-out centre and 7 orphanages accommodating 300 children.³

After the war, Yugoslavia found that 573,000 children had lost father and mother or one parent. With considerable assistance from private organizations the Ministry of Public Assistance arranged for the children to be placed. In 1947 the Government stated that all the orphans had found shelter either in a home or with a family.⁴

The OSE reports a total in Europe of between 40 and 45,000 Jewish children and adolescents up to the age of 18 who have lost their whole families and are not yet able to support themselves.⁵

¹ "Informations nationales. La Misère de l'Enfance. Pologne", *Revue internationale de l'Enfant* (Genève, 1946), vol. X, nos 1-3, p. 49.

² Banks, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴ "Informations nationales. Yougoslavie", *Revue internationale de l'Enfant* (Genève, 1945), vol. IX, nos 5-6, p. 65.

⁵ O. Gurvic, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Outside Europe, we have not yet even an approximate estimate of the number of orphans. For China alone, however, one American association gives the figure of 15,000,000 orphans.¹

A report by the International Committee of the Red Cross on child welfare work in Japan quotes a few figures but indicates that the statistics are far from complete and that no systematic check is yet possible. There are 125 institutions for war orphans and repatriated orphans, but it must be added that these institutions are considered to be inadequate and that many of the repatriated children swell the numbers of young vagrants in the towns.

In view of the general figures given in Chapter I, the situation which complete statistics would reveal may well be imagined.

THE PROBLEM OF OBTAINING FIGURES

As the inadequacy of statistics is largely the result of the difficulties of taking a complete census, it is interesting to consider how the census is taken in different countries.

Poland takes the census at school. It therefore covers only children of compulsory school age and can take no account of children at home who are under school age, adolescents who are over it and vagrants, whose numbers it has not yet been possible to estimate. From Warsaw it is reported that, though 100,000 orphans were registered by the Municipality in its school statistics, possibly 30,000 children are not covered by the statistics.

In the Netherlands, a typically methodical census of children at home has been arranged for war orphans. The problem was dealt with for the whole nation at the time of Liberation by the immediate establishment of an organization for which careful plans had been made in secret by groups who had undertaken the work of saving children in danger, particularly Jewish children. On August 13, 1945, a special Commission was established by the "Royal Decree concerning War Orphans" and required anyone responsible for the care of a minor in his own home or elsewhere to make a declaration to the Officers of the Commission. In this way there were no war orphans who were not covered by the Commission and its technical bodies dealing with the placing of children and their reintegration into society. In July 1948, there were approximately 650 cases awaiting decision by the Commission, which deals with all problems, including those of education.² This form of organization might

¹ American-Oriental Friendship Association, Inc. *op. cit.*, p. 1.

² Commissie voor Oorlogspleegkinderen, *Pupilles de guerre aux Pays-Bas*. (Rapport présenté par S. Baracs à la Réunion de Directeurs de Villages d'Enfants Trogen, Suisse. La Haye), July 1948, p. 5.

serve as a model for taking a census of any children who have been taken into homes and, for one reason or another, are not obliged to attend school.

There remains the question of obtaining figures of vagrant children. That is the most difficult problem. It seems likely that the employment of policewomen may achieve some results, and at the Congress of the International Federation of Teachers' Unions in August, 1948, Hungary quoted some interesting cases.

As far as Japan is concerned, the report of the International Committee of the Red Cross mentioned above, states that the institutions set up at the end of 1946 to house 8,000 vagrant children numbered nearly 150.

There is no doubt that the difficulty of obtaining figures of vagrants is greatest in countries in which the social system has been most seriously disordered. The vast movements of population which took place in Poland still leave their marks in this respect; in 1947 we were informed by the Ministry of Justice that it was impossible to take a complete census of vagrants and that, unfortunately, the policewomen's branch had not been restored to full strength.

EXAMINATION OF ORPHANS. SELECTION AND BOARDING-OUT CENTRES

Once the census has been taken, the next stage is one of great importance for the orphan's future education: he passes through a selection centre, which serves simultaneously as:

- A reception centre until the child can be placed;
- A centre for psychological and educational examination to decide what form of education is suitable for him;
- A boarding-out centre, to decide which Home or Community is to receive the child.

These centres differ from country to country and from one organization to another within each country. Generally speaking, there is evidence from every quarter of a great effort to transform the old "dépôts" into real educational homes, in which, in an environment as near as possible to that of a family, the child receives the careful attention of experts as long as may be necessary in his case. In many instances, such centres do not deal particularly with orphans but serve many purposes and are open to all handicapped children who present social and educational problems.

Czechoslovakia has temporary Homes organized by the "Association of Charitable Organizations" through the district assistance centres. The children remain in these homes until the environment likely to suit them is discovered. These Homes are organized

on the same basis as a large family; 10 or 15 children are grouped together under the care of one woman. The Homes also continue to exercise supervision over the children's health and education in the families which adopt them. Boarding out will, moreover, not give place to final adoption until the required psychological and legal conditions have been fulfilled.

In Prague, the Multi-purpose Reception Centre of the Central Institute of Diagnosis for children of the Municipality is designed specially for the classification of orphans with a view to boarding them out in families if they are normal. This Centre has some subsidiary centres in other regions. There are 180 beds. During his stay, which may last as long as 5 months, the child is taken at intervals for expert examination to the Institute of Paedology; this selection centre has its own primary school and gives individual re-education treatment in 6 classes devoted to that purpose. Artistic activities are being given a more important place in the curriculum.

In Poland, the Social Co-ordination Centres, which are responsible, under the Ministry of Education, for numbering and placing orphans, also work through Distribution Centres. The technical staff at these Centres decide on the placing of the child after educational tests at the Centre. The boarding-school attached to the Centre in Warsaw uses artistic activity to bring about emotional re-adaptation through self-expression in artistic work.

In Austria, the Examination and Distribution Centre in Vienna can take in children for a short period of observation.

In the Netherlands, the Commission mentioned above, with its social service and its Child Guidance Office, supervises the work in co-operation with the Ministry of Justice.

In Great Britain, the new legislation (Children Act, 1948) passed as a result of two Government enquiries makes it obligatory for all local authorities to establish observation centres for all children requiring care and protection. The expert team makes recommendations for the most suitable placing of each child according to its needs, thus obviating endless changes of environment.

In France, the Welfare Services are at present considering the educational rôle of the Homes which are being turned into warm and cheerful places with a carefully recruited and trained educational staff.¹ The Homes are connected with Child Guidance Centres responsible for expert examination. The valuable reports from these centres (such as the one at Lyons for the medical and educational examination of the wards of the State, and at Montpellier) leave no doubt as to the value of such work.

¹ Picquenard, Mlle, "Quelques conceptions nouvelles expérimentées dans certains services d'assistance à l'enfance", *Sauvegarde* (Paris, June-July 1947), vol. II, pp. 27-39.

In Italy, the "National Organization for Child Welfare" is planning to organize reception and diagnosis services in every provincial centre.¹

PSYCHOLOGICAL DISORDERS IN ORPHANS AND EDUCATIONAL MEASURES FOR THEIR CURE

Untiring patience and care in all the observations carried out in such centres are bringing to light characteristic peculiarities in the orphans' psychological problems. These observations confirm those made earlier by UNRRA workers and by the Directors of Communities which take in orphan children direct. The part played by the family becomes clear when the full extent of the catastrophe which has overwhelmed an orphan is examined. Just as the mother is physically necessary to an infant until he is weaned, the presence of the parents is psychologically essential for a child at least up to the age of "emotional weaning" or adolescence. Up to that age the emotions are delicate and easily injured; circumstances may repress or damage them but do not develop them; it is thus the adult's part to ensure the child's "emotional health". He discharges that task thanks to the emotional link, which safeguards the child's security amid the snares of the outside world.

The breaking of that link is the more serious the earlier it occurs (particularly before the age of 7, so the experts say).² Later on, however, the adolescent's interest in emotional and social situations stresses anew the effects of such a separation, often dramatically. For example, a lad who used to work regularly until late at night, and answered all grown-up entreaties with: "My father was a doctor; he would have wanted me to learn, and I owe it to his memory to do as I am doing".³

In these general conditions, every orphan has individual characteristics depending on the circumstances in which his own home disappeared. War orphans have been through experiences likely to accentuate certain sufferings, but likely also to build up in them a precocious strength and independence; "My whole family was shot by the Germans and our house was burned down because they could not find me", as one Polish child said. At the very time when he loses all protection, the war orphan makes the acquaintance of an aggressive, dangerous and frequently corrupt world. We can then understand the extreme reaction he sometimes exhibits; sometimes

¹ "Maladjusted and Delinquent Children, Italy. National Institute for the Moral Protection of the Child", *International Child Welfare Review* (Geneva, 1947), vol. 1, n° 4, p. 194.

² Burlingham and Freud, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-54.

Susan Isaacs, *The Uprooted Child*, in "Children in War-Time", London, New Education Fellowship, 1947, p. 9.

³ Chesters, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

it takes the form of apparent indifference and complete withdrawal : "I am nobody's nothing";¹ sometimes of a completely self-centred attitude : "I don't like anybody, I only like myself";² sometimes of an exacting need for affection from any grown-up; this is a case very frequently encountered in children's communities. The child also wishes his relationship with the adult to remain important in the eyes of other people, in order not to diminish his own value as a person. A little adopted girl who had been asked to finish an incomplete story for purposes of psycho-analysis said this : "And the little girl stole the necklace so that her friends would think her Mummy had given it to her".³ (This child was suffering from too little affection from her adoptive mother.)

In order to survive and to re-adapt himself, a homeless child has often had to develop pathological tendencies and disorders; like many adults, he has had recourse to cunning, fraud and lies. The tragedy is the greater as such children have often lost their school and any form of guide at the same time as their family. On the other hand, when the child had no support, he was forced by circumstances to efforts far beyond his years and developed a maturity which contrasts with exaggerated childishness in other respects.⁴ We shall not dwell in the present context on other characteristics which are not peculiar to orphans. What interests us is the light thrown on specific problems due to the lack of a family, and which education must take into account.

The part played by family life is so important that the psychological disorders following on the break up of the social environment during the war were more marked in children who had already been living in orphanages for some years. One expert's conclusion is that : "Acute psychological traumata, however serious, do not result in such deep injury as chronic deficiencies and long periods of spiritual solitude".⁵ Even when the parents fulfil their task in education unsatisfactorily, the family yet plays a certain part by just being there :⁶ "I miss being spanked by Daddy..."⁷ And one child described as his nicest days: "The memory of Sundays at home when Father came in drunk and we were able to empty his purse..."⁸

¹ Burlingham and Freud, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³ Alina Szeminska, "Les candidats pour les maisons d'enfants", *Sauvegarde* (Paris, February-March 1949), vol. III, p. 151.

⁴ Chesters, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁵ Marie Meierhofer, *First Experience in Medical-Psychological Work at the Pestalozzi Children's Village at Trogen*. Report presented at Meeting of Directors of Children's Villages, Trogen, Switzerland, 4-11 July 1948. Paris, 29 July 1948. (Unesco/ED/Conf. 1/20), p. 7.

⁶ S. Isaacs, *The Uprooted Child*, p. 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁸ Marcel Davaine and Paulette Davaine, "Enfants assistés", *Sauvegarde* (Paris, June-July 1947), numéro spécial, p. 64.

THE PLACING OF ORPHANS

It is a very serious and responsible task to place a child in a permanent environment which must provide everything necessary for his "psychological convalescence" and the satisfactory development of his personality. For the reasons we have just given, no one would dream of arguing about the prime consideration in placing such children, namely, the creation of a family atmosphere in which a strong and normal emotional relationship can be built up between the child and the adult responsible for his education at home.

That explains two commendable objects which may appear to be in conflict, but whose purpose is in reality the same — on the one hand, the organization of boarding out on an ever wider scale and with ever greater precautions; and, on the other, the reformed organization of children's communities in a manner suited to the most urgent needs of a child's life.

Certain countries and certain movements champion particularly one or other of these tendencies. In fact, in the present state of affairs, both forms are necessary side by side, for it is important both to perfect and develop the system of boarding out in families and to improve the circumstances of children who, for one reason or another, cannot benefit from it. We therefore propose to outline both systems.

BOARDING OUT IN FAMILIES

This is being more and more systematically organized in certain countries by official and private bodies and by methods developed in different ways.

In Great Britain, emphasis was already placed on the importance of the choice of the home for boarding out in the note published jointly by the Home Office and the Ministry of Health in 1946; it defined the qualities of a good foster family and emphasized the need to find the family best fitted to meet the needs of each individual child.¹ In the new *Children Act* promulgated on July 5, 1948, as a result of two Government enquiries, Great Britain finally decided in favour of the solution of boarding out. In the meantime, four universities had each already trained 20 students for a period of 12 months as boarding-out specialists.² Under the *Children Act*, local authorities are at present obliged to have a Children's

¹ Great Britain. Home Office. Ministry of Health, *Memorandum on Boarding out of Children and Young Persons*. London, H.M. Stationery Office, 1946, p. 3.

² P. Valkov, *The Re-education of War-Handicapped Children*. Report presented at Meeting of Directors of Children's Villages, 4-11 July 1948 at Trogen, Switzerland. Paris, 20 July 1948. (Unesco/ED/Conf. 1/5), p. 5.

Committee with a special officer called the Children's Officer who is responsible for all matters connected with children and has power to take any measures necessary.

In the Netherlands, the Special Commission responsible for war orphans decided at once in favour of boarding out, and places in Communities only the very few children who are not suitable for boarding out in families.

However, experts from the Netherlands Child Welfare Federation have explained that, though first institutions and then boarding out in families have each been favoured in turn, it is now possible, thanks to scientific understanding of children, to establish a considered "functional relationship" between these two means of treatment.

In Czechoslovakia the Association of Charitable Organizations allows the former system of placing orphans in communal homes to subsist only as a temporary and emergency measure. The Association believes that such Homes may turn normal children into abnormal children and that they are suitable only for the latter. The children's characters are very carefully studied in order to find for each the best possible foster parents.

In the Scandinavian countries, the boarding out of children in families was tried out on a large scale and has produced excellent results.¹

There also the qualities of each family are considered in relation to the capabilities and the needs of every child.

In Finland, we read among the recommendations enunciated by the International Study Weeks for Child Victims of the War in 1945² that "4 or 5 war orphans are put in the care of a war widow who is responsible for bringing them up and receives the necessary material assistance from the State".

Following the examples quoted above, a strong current of opinion for which there is full justification is 'at present advocating increasingly boarding out in families.

In spite of its undoubted advantages, however, boarding out is unfortunately not successful in every case at the present early stage of its organization, when good will is still too frequent and too inexperienced a substitute for plans prepared on the foundation of thorough knowledge. That is understandable; owing to the complexity of the arrangements to be made and the delicate mechanism of human psychological reactions, specialists in mental hygiene³

¹ H. Z. Hoxter, *Children's Communities and their General Organization*. Report presented at Meeting of Directors of Children's Villages, Trogen, Switzerland, 4-11 July 1948. Paris, 25 June 1948. (Unesco/ED/Conf. 1/7), p. 2.

² Semaines internationales d'Études pour l'Enfance victime de la Guerre (SEPEG), Zurich, September 1945, *Vœux de la Section de pédagogie de l'enfance déficiente*, p. 7.

³ Great Britain. Provisional National Council for Mental Health, *Mental Health Aspects of Adoption*. London, The Council, September, 1946, p. 1.

warn us that, although permanent adoption is the best form of placing for children, it may be a catastrophe if the conditions are not satisfactory. In fact, the two-fold natural link—physical and emotional—which binds a child to his real family cannot be replaced, and any interference with it may be just as serious as its disruption—the law itself often differentiates—the transfer is never fully effected and the child will always feel “adopted”.

Many causes of friction may arise as soon as the child is boarded out. Sometimes there are physical disorders, such as bed wetting, the psychological causes are not suspected by the family, so that their lack of comprehension may make the complex worse. Sometimes it is the parents' clumsy efforts to make the child conform to their standards, which cause suffering or defects of character—lying or rebelliousness—in him. (In this connection, boarding out with parents who, because they have lost a child, tend to require the newcomer to conform to the ideal personified in the first child, is not to be recommended.) Even the name by which the child has to call his foster parents may give rise to difficulties if he is compelled to use it.

Sometimes incompatibility becomes apparent at a later period of their life together. The child's youth may indeed have favoured adaptation, but as he grows older, physical or mental deficiencies which could not have been anticipated may appear and may upset the harmony of the home. Moreover, generally the children do not know their past history and, although the revelation that the child is adopted does no harm when the emotional links are sufficiently strong, in other cases clumsiness may mean that tragic suspicion takes the place of trust. Likewise, the history of the child's own family may disturb the calm of the foster family. The reasons for taking the child are also important, as well as the subconscious and unacknowledged motives; any selfish reason may give rise to conflict. The question is still more complicated when an orphan has to be fitted into a family which already has children, or when a child is born after the adoption of an orphan; serious difficulties of character may then come to light. The belated discovery of incompatibility between the child and the family is always a tragedy, both in the case of permanent adoption, when friction is constant, and in those cases where it is still possible to make further experimental placings which, in their turn, do the child more and more harm.

The few details above give only a very partial idea of the dangers which menace the harmony of a foster family; any abnormality is indeed an overriding argument against boarding out in a family, even when the child appears to be normal. This indicates how very important it is that the staff responsible for boarding out should be competent specialists. Anyone who cannot understand

and appreciate the child's needs and has not the intuition and sound judgment necessary to relate them to the qualities of a given family is unsuitable to carry out so grave a task in human relations, especially as that task implies continual supervision of the child and education of the families. It is thus understandable that the failures of the system of boarding out in families are still largely due to lack of specialized organizations and experts and that satisfactory solutions may be found in the future. As we have seen, too, war orphans have their special psychological problems which still further increase the hazards of boarding out and which mean that, without being abnormal, any child is likely to be at least "difficult". A few examples will illustrate these difficulties.

In the Netherlands, the Chief Officer of the Special Commission has explained the particularly serious problems of the two Indonesian and Jewish groups. The former, who had lived for years in Japanese camps, were incapable of adapting themselves to family life; they felt unwanted and unloved; many failures in families must have been corrected by the devoted educationists appointed by the Psychological Section of the permanent officers of the Commission. The children of Jewish origin gave rise to special difficulties; it was not that there was difficulty in finding foster parents for them; they had been taken in voluntarily during the occupation by families who had come to love them like their own children. But many families had meant only to save a life and had not intended to adopt the child permanently. Moreover, certain children could not accustom themselves to the unfamiliar environment because of their own psychological suffering (the deportation of their parents). Lastly, the question of resettling some of these children among orthodox Jews arose. In taking its decision in each specific case, the Commission had to take account of the probable wishes of the dead parents and, even more, of the genuineness of the emotional bonds between the child and the foster family.

In Great Britain, on certain boarding-out forms there is a space of six lines under the heading "names and addresses of foster parents"; this seems to admit the possibility of several successive placements.¹ We know how unfavourable for education such a lack of stability is. During evacuation in Great Britain also, the injuries which may be caused by adaptation to a new environment in addition to those caused by the disruption of the old came to light. Sometimes there were painful comparisons with the former home, and sometimes an obstinate attachment to some wretched garment in which the mother had dressed the child.²

In Poland, Mme. Szeminska, a psychological consultant at the Warsaw Distribution Centre, gives an interesting comparative

¹ Volkov, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

² Isaacs, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

study of the present position of war-handicapped children and their situation immediately after the end of hostilities. The passage of time has enabled her to judge some of the results of boarding out.

Many families who took in an orphan during the war come to the centre to explain the educational difficulties they had met with. In some cases, the family decides to part with the child and causes him to suffer the tragedy of disruption; sometimes the child himself runs away, generally having stolen some money, to go back to a Home which he preferred to the family—"Because it was more cheerful and school was easier with the practical workshops, and no one seemed to be giving me charity and I wasn't blamed for anything".

Both in the family and at school, education must satisfy the needs of the individual child, and only organized educational assistance can ensure that result. We can understand the reasons which led Professor A. Rey, who was invited to the Trogen Conference as an expert, to say: "We need not be afraid to show children who have no family that that institution (the family) is not without its disadvantages, and that the creations of the imagination are always finer than reality".

In certain countries, moreover, there are so many orphans that it is impossible to find families for them all immediately (e.g. in Poland and Italy).

PLACING IN COMMUNITIES

Thus, because of the numbers as well as the problems involved, all countries, including those most enthusiastically in favour of adoption, are compelled to organize Communities for homeless orphans; those Communities have to be specially planned for the education of difficult children who are not suitable for boarding out in families.

Just as the psychological environment of the family cannot be effective unless appropriate educational methods are used, however, Children's Communities, even with the most satisfactory school methods, cannot satisfy the child's needs unless their boarding arrangements are organized on a family basis. These two requirements — the educational method and the family atmosphere — determine the essential characteristics of such Communities. Most of them came into being spontaneously to meet the needs resulting from the war even while underground struggles were continuing and, later, at the time of the Liberation. They were organized with makeshift premises and equipment owing to the urgent need to provide relief, and have been transformed by wise educationists

into educational centres designed to fulfil the needs of the children. They then, so to speak, act as experimental centres and are inspired by the same concern which led to the establishment of the first Children's Villages in the last century. From our field studies we have discovered many interesting features in such Communities.

For instance, the Swiss Pestalozzi Village, which is now familiar to all those interested in unfortunate children throughout the world, is distinguished by its international character, whereas other villages take in foreign children only occasionally. The Pestalozzi Village is thus essentially a centre of experiment in international understanding; particularly in its communal activities outside school, while in school the children's own national culture is taught in each of the Houses. These Houses are furnished as comfortable homes containing some 15 children and "parents" who give them understanding and affection (the "father" is generally the school-master). The strict psychological and physical supervision of these children has provided us with most valuable information on the re-education of physically handicapped children.

The "Cité joyeuse des Orphelins" in Belgium works in close collaboration with the Decroly Institute. The children are divided into groups according to their educational needs, and live together in charming houses, after leaving the observation centre where specialists give their expert opinion. The Community is well equipped to provide abnormal children with the special education they require.

In France the Children's Republic of Moulin-Vieux represents a very advanced experiment in self-government, which is giving excellent results both as regards school instruction and the development of personality.

At Civitta-Vecchia, in Italy, adolescents, the majority of whom were delinquents, work at crafts, and their voluntary self-discipline takes the form of self-government on the model of the earliest American villages. The Pestalozzi City-School at Florence has no arrangements for living in but is carrying out a social experiment very closely connected with the more technical problems of education. The Italian-Swiss Community at Rimini, which was to such a great extent inspired by the International Study Weeks for Child Victims of the War and is assisted by the "Don Suisse", is making impressive educational experiments in its schools, which freely admit any Italian children, and thus, without relaxing the educational requirements, ensure that orphans are fitted into society once more. The Trogen Conference, which was attended by the Directors of twelve of these Communities in different European countries and by experts in educational psychology, reaffirmed that such organizations are necessary, and specified what their educational methods should be. Questions of self-government were very thoroughly

studied and soundly criticized.¹ Various methods of providing children with the social contacts necessary for normal re-adaptation were considered, through godparents, youth organizations or, in some cases, attendance at an outside school, when the educational methods used allow that course.

Before we leave this question of Children's Communities, we must mention that there are still many orphanages which, at the time they were established, before educational psychology was developed, could not meet the real needs of orphans any more than the traditional type of school and family could meet those of school children and children in general. It is, however, cheering to see that even these old orphanages, both governmental and private, are anxious to bring themselves into line with the new idea of education.

Nor must we end our treatment of the educational assistance necessary for homeless children without drawing attention to the endeavours made by governments and charitable organizations in general to help illegitimate children — a problem which became particularly widespread owing to the war. Centres have been established where mothers and children are taken in; these centres also provide treatment to remedy or prevent the educational problems inseparable from the situation. For instance, in Denmark, such assistance has been provided on a very large scale² by the "Mothers' Help" Institutions. France is increasing the number of Mothers' Homes organized on this new basis.³ A Mothers' and Children's Home at Milan was also visited, which deals with all the problems of motherhood, whether the children are legitimate or not; it thus helps to undermine the social prejudice which influences so adversely the child's normal development.

The foregoing account shows that the educational needs of orphans have now been sufficiently well analysed for society to be able to give such children a family background which can fulfil the requisite education rôle. What is important is :

- (a) That the child should be placed in a family or, if that is impossible, in a community organized on a family basis;
- (b) That, before a child is placed, his background should be studied at length by experts and he should be given the necessary educational tests, so that directions may be given to the family and the school;
- (c) That individual psychological assistance should be provided, so that the relation of the child and his environment may be

¹ The detailed report on this Conference, with comments, published by Unesco, gives fuller data about the whole question.

² "Protection of the Family. Denmark. Help to Mothers", *International Child Welfare Review* (Geneva, 1947), vol. I, n° 4, pp. 188-189.

³ "La loi sur l'assistance à l'enfance", *Sauvegarde* (Paris, June-July 1947), n° spécial, p. 9.

supervised at intervals to ensure that the environment is allowing the child to develop in the best possible conditions.

The shortage of teachers, monitors and psychologists, as well as other practical obstacles, still make it very difficult to carry out this work on a sufficiently large scale to fill all the needs. The immediate problem is to overcome these handicaps.

CHILDREN DEPRIVED OF SCHOOLING

That social cyclone, the second world war, not only destroyed homes; it also swept millions of children from the school environment in which they were being taught; at the same time, a scheme of cultural annihilation was systematically applied by an enemy who forbade the holding of courses, altered syllabuses, occupied premises and looted libraries. Moreover, school buildings and equipment were destroyed in military operations, and many victims for the human hecatombs were drawn from the ranks of the teachers. Lastly, even where the circumstances were less tragic, and in the areas which appeared calmest, children and parents had to concentrate their attention on the material needs of life, to the neglect of educational matters. That gives some idea of the extent of the backwardness in education with which educators are faced and of what terrific efforts were necessary immediately after the war, and are still necessary today, to remedy a calamity in which material destruction played so large a part.

MATERIAL DIFFICULTIES : A FEW STATISTICS

The statistics for the destruction caused are very incomplete; however, some figures which have been collected will give an idea of its extent.

In Austria, 640 schools were destroyed; there was also the serious problem of the "denazification" of 6,000 primary school teachers at the end of hostilities.

In Belgium, 281 elementary schools were completely, 2,852 partially destroyed; 25 secondary schools were destroyed or damaged. ¹

In France, 1,500 elementary schools were destroyed or seriously damaged; 82 secondary schools were more or less damaged. The 40,000 Jewish children who were living in France, half of whom lost their parents, were put back between two and five years in their schooling. ²

¹ Unesco, *The Book of Needs of Fifteen War-Devastated Countries*. I. Paris, November 1947. (Unesco publication 115), pp. 16-17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 45.

Simone Marcus-Jeiser, "Réponse à l'enquête sur les effets psychologiques de la guerre sur les enfants et jeunes gens en France. (Rapport définitif)", *Sauvegarde* (Paris, February 1947), vol. I, p. 13.

In Greece, 91 per cent of the school buildings were destroyed in the last war, and it is estimated that, owing to the movements of population caused by emergencies, 200,000 children of school age do not attend primary schools.¹

In Italy, the damage has been stated in terms of class-rooms; we are told that 3,582 primary school class-rooms were destroyed, and that 16,900 were seriously and 30,000 less badly, damaged.

In Poland, 60 per cent of the educational buildings were destroyed, including 6,152 schools. This affected 3,200,000 children, whose education was necessarily retarded; the enemy forbade all secondary education except in the lower grades of technical training. Of the primary school-teachers 23 per cent, or some 5,600 persons, disappeared as a result of the war; it was estimated that, in 1947, there was a shortage of 17,000 teachers for the elementary schools alone and that four or five years would be necessary to make up the numbers. The period of compulsory primary education has been increased from six to a minimum of seven, or even eight years. In spite of the loss of 1,100,000 children, the number of pupils has increased; in fact, 93 per cent of the children now attend primary schools as compared with 66 per cent before the war, and when secondary education was resumed, the number of school-children had increased from 222,000 before the war to 230,000.²

In Czechoslovakia, 71 per cent of the buildings were damaged and 1,055 primary teachers were executed during the occupation, while, in Slovakia alone, nearly 1,500 were dismissed from their posts. Throughout the country 65 per cent of the secondary schools were closed.³

In Yugoslavia, 80 per cent of the schools were destroyed; in 1947 the country had 8,500 fewer teachers than before the war and, owing to the intensified development of education, 27,000 teachers will be necessary to make up the complement required at present.⁴

We have obtained a few figures for the war-devastated countries outside Europe which we did not survey systematically this year; we shall quote them, as they give an idea of the extent of the havoc wrought in those countries.

In Burma, in 1947, the situation of the schools was critical; 30 per cent of the buildings were beyond repair and 40 per cent of those remaining were damaged.⁵

In China, it is anticipated that a whole generation will suffer

¹ Unesco, *The Book of Needs*, p. 50.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 70-90.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-99.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

from the shortage of teachers. The reasons for this are given in the following statement : "...The number of children in China who had been privileged to receive some education was comparatively very small. They could be counted by hundreds of thousands at most. On the other hand, those who were totally deprived of education would come up to millions... The great majority of war-handicapped children who lived through these long years of war received no attention from any kind of educational institution at all. This we must bear in mind when we discuss any educational problem concerning such children in China or elsewhere." ¹

In Ethiopia, education practically ceased for five years. ²

In the Philippines, 6,907 schools were completely, and 6,789 partly destroyed, and in 1947, only half the students were in a position to resume their studies. ³

Thus teachers and pupils have begun again, in the most uncertain conditions, the school life which had already suffered so many vicissitudes; the examples of such material poverty which come to mind are only too numerous. One will be enough to show an obstacle this penury presents to education; we came across it in the course of our investigations. In three small, dark, ground-floor rooms in a tumble-down building, 500 children were being taught each day, divided into eight classes spread over twelve hours of work. In these depressing surroundings, the shabby odd tables at which the pupils sat were so close to one another that there was no room for the mistress to have a table or even a chair for her own use. She also had continually to spend time drawing on the black-board diagrams and maps, of which there were none upon the walls, which were as bare as those of a prison. "None of these children", we were told by the teacher, "has normal sight any more, owing to the poor light, whether natural or artificial, and to the fact that books are so few that a group of children has to look over a single copy at the cost of a continual strain to adapt their tired eyes."

That was the painful scene in the poorest school in Warsaw, where 85 per cent of the city is in ruins, and where the wide gashes among its buildings remind us that, in two months' uprising, 30,000 children perished beneath its walls and uncounted numbers were deported in sealed trucks.

¹ C. H. Chuang. *Educational Problems of War-Handicapped Children in Chinese Orphanages*. Report presented at Meeting of Directors of Children's Villages, Trogen, Switzerland, 4-11 July 1948. Paris, 30 June 1948. (Unesco/ED/Conf./1/14), pp. 3-4.

² Unesco, *The Book of Needs*, p. 41.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

EFFECTS OF THE DESTRUCTION OF SCHOOLS UPON THE CHILDREN

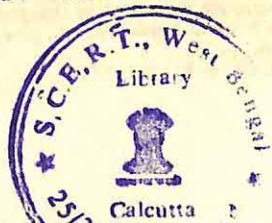
The material losses, however, are only one aspect of the school problem; it is easy to imagine what that problem must mean from a more specialized standpoint when we remember how serious were the cultural losses; for instance, we have seen how displaced children forgot even their own language as well as the most elementary knowledge. But that is still only part of the problem; the gravity of the psychological injury suffered by the child and the disturbances in the development of his personality confront the teacher with an enigma which is difficult to solve. If we are to teach, we have to reckon with that enigma, and that means that we shall have to "educate" with a constant concern for the human needs of a school-child whose inmost being holds the most disconcerting difficulties but also unsuspected riches.

The difficulties take different forms. It is almost impossible, for many reasons, to make the children attend the classes which their backwardness, considered alone, would make desirable. The child is annoyed at being put with others who are much younger and refuses to learn (this was the case with a Norwegian lad of 13 who obstinately refused to attend a class for children of 6 and 7). Moreover, the "educational age" and the "social age" of the retarded child are not equal; on the contrary, the usual tests and exercises reveal a maturity which is in contrast with his ignorance in academic subjects. For instance, there are children who write, in the awkward scrawl of a very young child, compositions containing feelings and ideas which might well be those of adolescents or adults: "The retarded development of the personality is accompanied by precocious worldly wisdom, a particularly striking degree of experience and a deceptive measure of development, which gives the impression of being higher than it really is. Thus, for instance, a boy of 10 or 12 is a mixture of a young child and an adult."¹

EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

The difficulties attending the education of these children are not unrelieved; but there are some favourable factors and, above all, the thirst for knowledge. Even during the occupation some children were demanding that their schools, closed because of bombardment, should be reopened: "Will it be soon? We are becoming ignorant savages."

¹ Meierhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 8.



Noteworthy efforts were made even during the war to preserve a minimum education. In one town in Norway, before the invasion, the mothers had already organized a scheme for education in groups at home, and teachers had been recruited; an hour after the occupying forces arrived, the scheme was put into practice. This substitute scheme was, moreover, successfully applied generally.¹ In Poland, children in the rural secondary schools explained to us how classes were secretly held in farms, barns, or nursery schools. In Czechoslovakia, school-children used to meet in inns. In China while some of the schools were being evacuated from the fighting areas, they often had to move five or six times, and all the equipment had to be carried. The teachers used to hold their classes as they walked along the road, and the pupils learnt their lessons in caves.²

After the Liberation, a number of children (and especially those who had come out of concentration camps) showed an almost morbid eagerness to resume their studies. They felt they had forgotten everything and urgently demanded teachers and exercises, resolved to take no further rest: "We have already lost five, six, or seven years of our lives; we can't bear to wait even for another five minutes."³ This thirst for study needed so greatly to be satisfied that it was essential to consider it in deciding where such children should be temporarily housed.

Sometimes it was the need for social independence and the desire to earn their own living so as to win their freedom, which impelled them to demand some training, whatever it might be. One child who was urged to take some time for amusement answered: "No, I can't; I shan't be free until I have sat an examination and I can begin to work."⁴

In certain cases, too, among the older children, it was surprising to discover that they were capable of sustained attention, even for intellectual work. Adolescents, particularly, whose self-respect had been diminished by work which they considered degrading, showed this desire for intellectual work, which restored their dignity in their own eyes.

Among the people of the worst devastated countries, today rebuilding their educational systems with unflagging energy, there are children eager to learn and to share in the work of restoration. Despite the damage to its framework, education is not afraid to face new demands to show advance over the pre-war situation. The compulsory school age was raised in many countries and, in spite

¹ Conference of the Allied Ministers of Education. Commission of Enquiry on Special Educational Problems in the Liberated Countries, *Norwegian Youth at the Beginning of the Fifth Year of Occupation*. London, 1945. (AME/F/37), p. 6.

² Unesco, *The Book of Needs*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

Hicklin, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³ Chesters, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

of the losses recorded among the child population, the number of children attending school has increased. In addition, in many countries, pupils confront the teachers with new problems which call for special care.

THE EDUCATIONAL DIFFICULTIES

The success of teaching and of the rebuilding of character depends upon the educational method used. Educationists who have devoted themselves specially to the re-training of war-handicapped children are well aware of that fact.

Children are seldom able to take an interest in the abstract; manual and craft training are the most likely to seize and hold their attention. Traditional methods are frequently the source of difficulties and failures and, when a child is unable to adapt himself to school life, his learning suffers and harm is done to the development of his personality. One school boy was envious of a reformatory: "It doesn't matter that it's a reformatory; there are 'real' workshops there and the boys really work". Similarly, one young runaway said: "If only I could work in the workshops. But as for school — no, I don't want to go..."¹

Several of the Children's Communities we visited illustrate the successes in teaching which are gradually taking the place of initial failures as methods become more liberal and better adapted to the children's needs. Moreover, the report from one of the Communities represented at the Trogen Conference is so striking and based on such cogent statistics that we shall quote here, in full, the paragraphs which deal directly with this question:

"Economic difficulties and serious organization problems compelled us this year to send our boys to the day-school and confine our out-of-school staff to hearing their lessons and correcting exercises. This solution, which we were obliged to adopt for the first two terms, had almost disastrous results. Nearly all our boys received such bad marks that they might well have been judged incapable of all intellectual activity, if not completely abnormal."

The introduction, in the last few months of the year, of individual instruction, based on the methods of the "activity school", succeeded, by itself, in securing results beyond the most sanguine hopes. And the report adds: "Sixty-five per cent of the boys taking industrial and commercial courses passed the final exams, and the rest were kept back in such subjects as drawing, which require constant practice and a fairly long period of training. Ninety

¹ Szeminska, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

per cent of the boys attending primary school received their annual promotion, as did all those who had been following the classes in the Community from the start. These results are worth mentioning because they show how inadequate, and in some cases actually harmful, is the teaching in public schools for all those children whom war-time circumstances have thrown into a peculiar intellectual and psychological state."¹

However, only a minority of children who are orphans or deficient in some respect are entrusted to such Communities, or to special schools. For educationally retarded children, in general, Governments provide auxiliary schools for ill-adapted children, or special classes. There can be no question of giving tedious lists of such classes here; every country has, more or less, taken steps to undertake that work, in an attempt to meet the psychological needs of pupils. In some cases, such measures are part of a general reform of education, based on the consideration of children's inequality in learning and the differing speeds with which they assimilate knowledge; for instance, one school may provide adjustment classes for children temporarily retarded, and parallel classes in which the average or more intelligent pupils, after undergoing tests, follow curricula corresponding to their capabilities. The publications of the International Bureau of Education furnish us with examples of such educational measures.²

THE TEACHERS

The difficulties which we have just surveyed are complex enough, but the principal problem demanding solution is the *recruitment and training of teachers*. The figures we gave at the beginning of the chapter give an idea of the scale and difficulties of the problem. At the very moment when their numbers are strikingly inadequate and they themselves are inadequately trained, these teachers have to teach more pupils in more difficult conditions. All countries are therefore intensifying the training of their teachers. As an example, we may quote the work accomplished in certain countries whose educational systems have been radically upset.

In Malta, teachers are faced with a task much greater than before the war; by a Statute of 1946, education was made compulsory (between the ages of 6 and 14) and at the same time the war stimu-

¹ Unesco, *The Boarding Schools of the New Italy*. Paris, 15 April 1949. (Unesco/ED/Conf. 1/22), p. 10.

² "The Educational World, Belgium. Opening of Special Classes." *Bulletin of the International Bureau of Education* (Geneva, 3rd Quarter 1946), vol. XX, n° 80, p. 100.

lated a new zeal for learning. The total number of schools increased from 114 in 1937-38 to 182 in 1946-47, and the number of pupils from 36,047 to 51,882 for the same years. In order to cope with this task, teachers had to be trained, as a matter of urgency, in special courses with a very full syllabus lasting for a maximum of four months. The enthusiasm of these young recruits has so far been sufficient to make up for such material deficiencies. It is now hoped that it will be possible to lengthen their training.

In Poland all the Teachers' Training Colleges were closed during the occupation. At the Liberation, 46 were immediately reopened. For the academic year 1946-47, they already numbered 107 and in 1947-48 were to increase to 120. At the same time, important reforms in methods of recruitment and study were carried out. Students can now pass from primary schools to the teachers' training colleges.

However, temporary measures were necessary to meet temporary needs. In order to supply the shortage of 50,000 teachers, the Ministry of Education has been obliged to employ in primary schools 16,400 teachers who have received no training in education and who have to be trained while they are already teaching in the schools. A monthly Review dealing with individual education based on the "Dalton Plan" is to be produced for them.

In Czechoslovakia teachers in the elementary schools whose training was interrupted by the occupation, have been authorized to reduce the length of their studies to two and a half years instead of the four years' training normally required. In 1945 and 1946, 2,400 primary school teachers had already been trained in special one-year courses, and two-year courses were organized for those in the higher grades in elementary schools. In Moravia, out of a total of 16,000 teachers, 1,600 have attended special courses during the last two years.

In Yugoslavia special measures were also taken to recruit as many as possible of the 27,000 additional teachers who were necessary. Macedonia is proud to have been able to recruit 400 more teachers than before the war, but admits that it was possible to achieve that result only at the cost of a reduction in their qualifications. Special six-months or one-year courses have been organized in many regions, as well as holiday refresher courses. At present, the Teachers' Training College is trying to cover in three years the syllabus which used to take four years before the war, but special emphasis is placed on the social training of the teacher, so that he may play his part in the life of the community and, in addition, may himself improvise many kinds of school equipment.

Such are the difficulties which Governments or educational associations are trying to solve in order to make up for delays in schooling and to meet the present needs; the gravest is undoubtedly

the difficulty of training teachers, not only in order to make up the numbers, but also to develop fresh ability to solve the "psychological enigma" which these children so often set us.

Under the heading of education we shall consider the new demands of modern education.

PART II
PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH
INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

THE
LIBRARY
OF THE
MUSEUM OF
ART AND
ARCHAEOLOGY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF
CAMBRIDGE

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

So far we have considered the child in relation to the great disruptions of the framework of society, which have been undermining his education and make urgent reconstruction measures imperative. But, whether or not they have been affected by the disturbances described above, war-handicapped children often show polymorphous deficiencies which raise special problems for the teacher. We shall now consider these children in themselves, with their deficiencies and difficulties.

The classification of children in rigid isolated categories is, of course, artificial. Any deficiency, whether it be physical, intellectual or emotional, is reflected throughout the whole individuality and always necessitates a complete and many-sided re-education. It is, therefore, absolutely essential, before taking any decision about a child's education or where he is to be placed, to examine him in an observation centre, where his deepest and least evident needs, and the educational treatment necessary to satisfy them, can be discovered. That same fact has led certain specialists to group children suffering from the most varied types of deficiencies in a single home for re-education; the statement made by the Head of "Brambling House" in Great Britain is interesting in this connection : "Brambling House Open Air School and Children's Centre was designed as an experimental attempt to combine the physical, intellectual and psychological approaches to children's problems. This arrangement makes it possible to do away with the usual distinction between the delinquent, the nervous, the retarded and the ill child, and to regard all sorts of varied conditions, such as nervousness, chronic headaches, stealing, rheumatic pains, temper tantrums, bed-wetting, shyness, asthma, lassitude, school failure, etc., merely as symptoms that something is wrong with *The Child*." ¹

It has hitherto been customary, however, to divide children among specialized centres, determined by the predominance of a particular deficiency requiring a certain type of treatment. For that reason, and also for statistical and descriptive convenience, we

¹ *Report on a Five-Year Experiment in the Combination of Open-Air Medical and Psycho-Therapeutic Treatment in a Midland Town.* By A. Greenough and J. A. Stirling. Chesterfield, March 1945, p. 2.

shall review in turn the various forms of deficiency and the special educational treatment they require but, at the same time, we must not forget that such treatment must be a part of a complete scheme of re-education, without which there can be no normal children and, in consequence, no normal society.

PHYSICAL DEFICIENCIES

The considerable increase in physical deficiencies brought about by the war, which now confronts educators with so many problems, is only too well known. In some cases, debility gives rise to maladjustment at school and calls for education in sound physical and mental conditions adapted to the pupil's needs; in others, chronic illness makes it impossible for the child to attend school and raises the question of a scheme for teaching in hospital; in yet others, there are incurable infirmities for which there is definite medical-pedagogic treatment and which require so-called "special" education.

Several months' work, in collaboration with the World Health Organization and the international voluntary assistance organizations, would be necessary to prepare a complete statement of such a situation. The problems have, however, been sufficiently analysed to give educators a clear picture of the needs and the necessary solutions. Needless to say, although most cases in the general group of physically handicapped children are directly or indirectly attributable to the war, there are others whose causes have nothing to do with the war. When dealing with measures for special education or re-education, the teacher, like the doctor, makes no distinction and includes in a single scheme for rehabilitation both the war-cripple and the victim of infantile paralysis.

The war increased the needs tenfold and was the occasion for fresh studies; it was destructive, but the educational measures which that calamity suggested and made more urgent will be applied to all without discrimination. We shall consider in turn the three principal aspects of the problem : physical debility, chronic illness, and physical disabilities (mutilation and sensory deficiencies).

PHYSICAL DEBILITY AND EDUCATIONAL MALADJUSTMENT

Incidence

Owing to the war, the extent of the problem of physical debility in school children, which at any time is one of the matters of concern to the teacher, has increased alarmingly. Indeed, apart from the unhealthy living conditions due to circumstances, a systematic

plan of malnutrition approaching the famine level was considered by the enemy as a particularly effective means of extermination.¹ It was not only in the concentration camps that the number of deaths by starvation reached high figures; in countries such as the Netherlands and Greece, there were tragic instances of this in the last few months of occupation.² The figures for undernourishment in children are appalling. In Belgium, during the war, it was calculated that the nutritional deficiency in calories for the different ages was : 20 per cent between the ages of 4 and 6; between 20 and 50 per cent for ages 5 to 14; and sometimes over 60 per cent above that age.³ In this connection, the physical exhaustion and poor physiological condition of mothers are cited as an undoubted cause of debility in young children in Poland.

The figures for infant mortality were and, in certain regions, still are appalling. For instance, in Poland, during the war, the figure was as high as 50 per cent, at the Liberation it was still 40 per cent and now fluctuates between 15 and 20 per cent.⁴ In Malta, the figure was 34.5 per cent in 1942.⁵ In Bulgaria, the figures at present vary in different regions from 16 to 30 per cent. That is some indication of the deficiencies among the surviving children.

It is not for us to give a report on Public Health in the present document, but as teachers are constantly obliged to cope with such debility, it is not out of place to outline broadly the effects of undernourishment on a child's development. It is well known that weight is first affected by malnutrition and neglect, but that growth also slows down after prolonged privation; this accounts for the fact that, in the belligerent countries, children have lost weight and are not so tall as the average child before the war. These observations are confirmed by Dr. Marie Meierhofer of Zurich, the Consultant at the Pestalozzi Children's Village in Switzerland : "Only 12 out of the 95 children are up to the average for Swiss children of the same age".⁶

Finally we must mention the effect of pre-tuberculous conditions in physical debility; we can guess how serious they are when we remember how tragically that illness spread among the undernourished. Not only do primary infections appear earlier than before the war and not only are the serious forms of the disease much more frequent, but masked forms of it are found in the great majority of the children in the course of routine examinations; it is

¹ Bowles, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

² Conférences internationales du Service social. *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³ Great Britain, Save the Children Fund, *Children in Bondage*. A survey of child life in the occupied countries of Europe and in Finland, 2nd impr. London, etc., Longmans, Green and Co., 1943, p. 13.

⁴ Comité international de la Croix-Rouge, Division médicale, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁵ Malta, Office of Statistics, *Statistical abstract of the Maltese Islands* 1946. Valletta, Government Printing Office, 1947, p. 10.

⁶ Meierhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

practically impossible in certain countries to find any orphans who are not in any way affected by tuberculosis. At the Pestalozzi Village, where the orphans were specially chosen from children who did not appear to be tuberculous, 51 out of 95 had a positive skin test.

The educational problems entailed

The general particulars given above are a sufficient indication of the high incidence of physical debility in all children in the devastated countries and of the problems to which it may give rise at school.

Sometimes the child is restless and nervous, awkward in his movements; sometimes his eyes wander aimlessly, and he has no interest and no energy. The teacher knows quite well that this constant inability to work at school can be attributed above all to physical debility, still further accentuated by a poor and unhealthy social environment, and both medical examination and social investigations confirm that the child is not healthy enough to adapt himself to the usual school environment and to benefit from normal education. A temporary change of school is a necessary step in his general treatment.

In other cases, children who are likely to be backward at school seem to have a defective memory or less than average intelligence when they are tested. Examination may reveal a local sensory deficiency affecting sight or hearing and which makes it more or less impossible for the child to see what is written on the blackboard or to hear what the teacher is saying. Special precautions or instruction are then the essential condition for the resumption of normal satisfactory school life.

It is unnecessary to say more to remind readers that the cause of many misfits in normal education may be traced to one of the many forms of physical debility. Teachers are, moreover, trained to diagnose such cases and this combination of medicine and education is much too frequent and takes far too many forms to be capable of statistical statement. Because they are aware of the importance of the situation from the point of view of both health and education, most governments are now systematically organizing services for diagnosis and health supervision at school, either directly under the control of the Ministry of Health or under a School Health Division in the Ministry of Education. Charitable organizations frequently co-operate, when necessary, in providing medical assistance for school children, as for instance the Federation of Organizations for Assistance to Children which in Czechoslovakia in 1947 examined nearly 80,000 school children so that they could be regraded, taking into consideration their state of health.

Such permanent services, with their school dispensaries, school nurses, and social workers will not only make possible health supervision and the necessary remedial measures, but will also allow education to be organized as part of a scheme, using methods which may promote the twofold rehabilitation of the pupil in health and in study.

It is more accurate to speak of a triple effect, for if a child cannot keep up with his fellow pupils in school, his character and psychological development suffer; as he becomes backward at lessons, he loses all self-confidence and gradually turns from society. This fact is so generally recognized that most of the centres set up for the education of sickly children for short periods most frequently deal with the development of personality and the re-adaptation of the child to society, so far as material resources permit. These resources are unfortunately, still far inferior to the needs.

Various new educational measures designed for the delicate child-camp schools, open air schools, preventoria, convalescent homes.

In order to meet the requirements which we have just mentioned, the establishment of temporary or permanent centres for the simultaneous care and education of children who, because of physical debility, cannot fit into the environment organized for the majority, is becoming more common. Governments and charitable organizations of every sort are combining their efforts to increase tenfold the existing opportunities and to develop the arrangements best suited to the children's individual needs. In this connection we must not forget the youth movements which, in this field as in all other activities connected with children, are making such a valuable contribution; we shall consider this in greater detail in the chapter dealing with education itself. The Italian Junior Red Cross reports that its own camps have taken in as many as 60,000 children.¹

Although the main point of all the measures to which we refer is the physical health of the child and provision of a country life for him, from our point of view the safeguarding of teaching and the restoration of education are also important. When all is said and done, what has to be achieved is to fit a healthy child — healthy from every point of view — back again as quickly as possible into the school which he has had temporarily to leave. We shall, therefore, examine critically the various facilities available to the children to help them to build up the health which is essential for their study and education.

¹ Union internationale de secours aux enfants, XXII^e session du Conseil général (17-21 September 1946), "Rapports d'activité d'organisations membres et déclarations diverses: G. Piacentini, Italie", *Revue internationale de l'enfant* (Genève, 1946), vol. X, n^{os} 4-6, p. 110.

Some of these measures are temporary. In some cases the children are simply sent to the country for a limited period (an example is the work of the "Aide paysanne aux enfants de la Ville", organized in Belgium for delicate children from the large towns). The problem then is to ensure that no educational handicap remains while the child's physical condition improves, and that his re-assimilation can take place easily and smoothly. In some cases, the educational authorities decide to send all the classes of the primary schools into the country in turns throughout the year, keeping the teachers with the children. By this method, the child remains in his accustomed school society and it is possible to observe whether the change in the natural environment alone, and healthier living conditions are enough to solve the educational problem. Unfortunately, as was pointed out to us, the time is not long enough.

There is the same disadvantage in the holiday camps which, however, do such valuable work. As there are still far too few open-air schools, it is necessary to use these camps for children, although the time spent at them would be more appropriate for the preservation of the health of children suffering from no deficiencies. There are no systematic international statistics for this work; sometimes individual international organizations, ministries, or private organizations report on their own efforts; incidentally, the development from one year to another is most remarkable.

Poland, which had to reorganize all its charitable organizations at the Liberation, managed to send 150,000 children to summer camps in 1945, and 900,000 in 1947; the figure was likely to increase to over 1,000,000 in 1948. The OSE had a large number of holiday camps among the 400 establishments it had set up in Poland, Rumania and France, during 1947 alone.¹ The Ministries of Education themselves are organizing their own school camps. We visited those near Athens in Greece, where, sometimes in country schools which are not being used during the holidays, and sometimes in specially built camps in the woods, children are given special teaching designed to remedy their backwardness in school work, and additional artistic, civic and social education by methods which somewhat resemble the system of self-government by the pupils. We were struck by the health, poise, gaiety and enterprise of these children, many of whom would have been considered physically below par when they came to the camp. In addition to these children's colonies near Athens, there were, in the summer of 1948, refugee children—from the zones where military operations were in progress—at the summer camp attached to the Pendalis Preventorium, which had also formerly been used for summer colonies.

¹ L. Gurvitch, *Towards a Better World*, OSE Mail (Geneva, August-September 1948), No. 2, pp. 24-25.

Those in charge reported that there had been difficult behaviour and psychological disorders which made special educational measures necessary from the moment the children arrived. This "camp school" (containing 400 children and adolescents between the ages of 3 and 20) provided normal primary school classes for the younger children, craft work for the older ones, and a nursery school for infants. Under the influence of its "emotional and social atmosphere" the children gradually became normal again from the point of view of both their school work and their character. In the same connection, as a typical case of foreign aid to devastated countries, we should mention the "Otwork Children's Village" established by the "Don Suisse" in a forest area in Poland. When we visited the Village, there were delicate children there undergoing a course of fresh air and general treatment lasting two months, while teams of scouts came regularly to organize out-of-school activities.

Besides these temporary educational centres, which can take in children only for a specified period, whatever may be their condition from the medical and educational points of view when they come and when they leave, there are more permanent establishments which are specially organized to provide children with medical and educational treatment for as long as may prove necessary. These establishments generally keep the children for two years. They are the *open-air schools*.

Many of them are day schools specially designed to provide for the physical health of the children. An example is the magnificent open-air school in the suburbs of Copenhagen, Denmark; it is, of its kind, an architectural masterpiece.

In other cases, there are boarding schools, which take in more complicated cases of children whose family circumstances are abnormal, who are "difficult", who are obviously unable to adapt themselves to school life and, in any case, are suffering from more or less marked physical debility. An example is the French school at Job, which has been set up on a large estate; the children's health is carefully supervised, and they are also given psychological examinations and educational treatment to remedy not only backwardness but also any abnormal features in their personality.

In Italy, we visited eight such open-air schools near Rome, Naples, Florence, Milan and Turin. There were certain differences between them, depending on the type of children admitted, whether the pupils were boarders or day-boarders, and whether the children were kept for a long or a short time. By their educational methods, and in particular by the care they devoted to artistic education, all these schools were trying to develop the children's personalities as fully as possible, both as individuals and as members of society.

A model multi-purpose "open-air school"

We shall describe at rather greater length the Brambling House Open-Air School, to which we referred at the beginning of this chapter, because it is specially organized for weak children and, being part of a centre, is able to deal with the entire education of delicate children in all circumstances (boarders and day pupils), with their psychological and school problems, keeping them under constant supervision. A Home where boarders can be taken in, and a Child Guidance Centre organized in conformity with the recommendations of the London Institute of Child Psychology are attached to the school. It is thus possible to diagnose in the children physical disorders of psychological origin (psycho-somatic irregularities) and to effect the necessary double cure. Medical and psychological examinations are looked upon as normal school activities and cast no stigma on either the child or the family. So far as the teaching side is concerned, the child pursues his studies and his out-of-school activities in the usual healthy physical environment of open-air schools, receives individual attention in his education and works at his own pace. He becomes accustomed also to taking his part in the social life of groups and to accepting responsibility for his own conduct and facing the demands of life courageously.

Such physically weak children, who often have only slight anxiety problems, make up with the teachers homogeneous and harmonious groups; this makes it possible to include certain repressed and timid children who gradually, in the general harmonious atmosphere, return to normal. On the other hand, no more than three children with an anti-social disposition can be included with twenty-five others, at the risk of interfering with the re-education of the group as a whole.

The purpose of the school is to give remedial treatment, and it therefore keeps the child only until he has regained normal health and can be restored without difficulty to his former school environment. Only a very small minority will find it necessary for special reasons to spend almost the whole of their school life at Brambling House. There is very close co-operation not only between the doctors, teachers and psychologists, but also with the families, which are themselves re-educated as far as possible. Their co-operation is secured by frequent visits to the school and by visits of the psychotherapist and the health inspector to the homes.

After five years' work, the school has achieved satisfactory results, not only from the point of view of physical health; the children's psychological balance is improving; interest and enterprise are taking the place of apathy and indifference. The child is happy in the cheerful co-operative social life he leads at school, and that happiness is the essential factor in his recovery.

The careful planning of Brambling House Open-Air School for many purposes is really a model experiment which may be of interest to many organizations working toward the same end.

The Congress of Open-Air Schools, which was held in Rome in May, 1949, made important progress in defining the rôle of the open-air school, in its fullest and most humane sense, as the use of the riches of the countryside as the natural setting for a complete education with emphasis on the development of the child's personality. It stressed the prime importance of educational method. And it recommended that all children should have the benefit, as a preventive measure, of a form of education which has produced such good results in dealing with the complex problems of delicate children.

CHRONIC ILLNESS

There are cases in which the physical condition is more serious than mere debility and calls for still more constant and more expert medical supervision, either in preventoria, in institutions for chronic invalids, in sanatoria for the treatment of tuberculosis or in convalescent homes.

Statistical data

The general increase in illness due to the war is at present showing its most disquieting results in connection with tuberculosis. We have already seen the part played in physical debility by pre-tuberculous conditions. The official statistics of the Red Cross are evidence of the increasing numbers of confirmed cases.

For instance in Albania, in 1948, 15 to 30 per cent of the children showed signs of pulmonary infection. In Austria, in 1947, the figure for cases of active tuberculosis officially notified had doubled by comparison with 1939, and the total number of sufferers from tuberculosis was estimated at about five times the pre-war figure. The number of deaths from tuberculosis was 16 per 10,000 in Finland in 1947, and 25 per 10,000 in Greece in 1946; in Italy, it had increased from 40 to 50 per cent between 1937 and 1945. (In that country, moreover, 220,000 children are suffering from trachoma). In Hungary, the number of known sufferers had increased from 82,000 to 155,000 between 1938 and 1946. In Poland, the death rate increased from 17.6 to 27.1 per 10,000 between 1936 and 1945. In Czechoslovakia, in 1947, 35 per cent of the young people below the age of 18 were infected or in danger.

No statistics can give an accurate idea of the number of children deprived of education owing to illness, for although it is possible

to obtain figures for children receiving treatment in hospital (9,000 children in Greece, for instance, were in hospital in 1948), it is known that a considerable number of other sick children who are not attending school cannot, owing to lack of room, be admitted to institutions for treatment. The statistics of the International Red Cross in fact draw attention to the serious lack of establishments for the treatment of tuberculosis; every Government confirms this, and all the institutions also report a very large number of applications for admittance which cannot be granted. For instance, the sanatorium at Doly Smokovec, in the Tatra mountains in Czechoslovakia, informed us that, in addition to the 120 beds occupied by children between the ages of four and eighteen, 600 applications had been refused for lack of space; to accommodate the patients it would have been necessary to establish two new foundations.

The educational needs of such children : Measures to be recommended

A large number of sick children who cannot be admitted to hospital owing to lack of space often remain without any education or at least without supervision. It is, therefore, important that sick children who, because they are in hospital, can be reached, should be provided with the fullest measure of education compatible with their physical condition. This is particularly important because such children are not only educationally retarded but also suffer from psychological disorders deriving from their twofold inferiority in health and imparted knowledge. In this respect, children admitted to special hospitals for chronic diseases have better educational facilities than those in sick children's hospitals. In institutions for special treatment, indeed, whether they are preventoria, sanatoria, homes for chronic invalids or convalescent homes, education is beginning to be a matter of general concern. At the Lodz preventorium in Poland, for instance, we found a form of education in which out-of-school, and particularly artistic, activities play an important part. This kind of activity should not be neglected as a factor in the emotional equilibrium of children who tend to combine with physical deficiency melancholy and an inferiority complex, and these, in turn, have regrettable repercussions on their general health.

In Milan, the little chronic invalids in the care of the Child Neurology Service of the Faculty of Medicine have their own room for games and lessons under the supervision of monitors attached to them.

In Czechoslovakia, the Masaryk League against tuberculosis, which is subsidized by the State, is arranging for the education of children in sanatoria and is making it possible for them to receive

primary education in those institutions, supplemented by individual instruction in art, with organized recreation periods; we had the opportunity of seeing for ourselves how well the musical development of the children is progressing. At the time of our visit in 1947, our attention was drawn to the desirability of organizing a special sanatorium for adolescents, for whom it had not so far been possible to provide the educational attention they required, as secondary education was not yet organized.

We may, therefore, say that there are at present no governments, charitable organizations or institutions for chronic invalids, which are not aware of the educational problem and are not attempting, so far as their limited means allow, to find a solution for it. The idea of "health" is developing in such a way that education is gradually being recognized as being not something apart from the general treatment and introducing a tiresome complication, but an integral part of the treatment, which should help the child to achieve a "psychological health" without which there can be no true physical recovery. The existing practical organization, however, makes it very difficult to apply a systematic scheme of education, and the lack of teachers and monitors is, in every instance, the most difficult gap to fill. From the educational point of view, the position is much more uncertain for children who, for many months, have to stay in an ordinary hospital, designed simply for the provision of physical treatment, with no concern for education. Concern for education is beginning to come to the fore, but is not yet sufficiently systematized. In the United States of America, the movement for running *schools in hospitals* dates from the end of the last century and in 1936, there were already between 300 and 400 such schools in existence. School work is done either collectively, in special classrooms, or individually, at the bedside; syllabuses vary according to the children's ability and the institution's material resources but, generally speaking, the schemes provide for such children to be given, so far as their physical condition permits, one or two lessons a day, with musical activities (singing, orchestra) and special wireless programmes.¹ This is undoubtedly an example worthy of close attention, from which war-handicapped children will benefit generally.

PHYSICAL DISABILITIES AND THE PROBLEM OF SPECIAL EDUCATION

Children with incurable physical disabilities give rise to very special problems of practical education. Although, statistically speaking,

¹ Clele Lee Matheison, *Hospital Schools in the United States*. (Department of the Interior. Office of Education Bulletin 1938, No. 17), Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939, p. 34.

war disabilities constitute a greater problem in relation to adults than to children, victims came also from the ranks of the latter, and the war added its own complications to this question of physically disabled children.

Such disabilities may be divided into two main categories from the clinical and therapeutic points of view : firstly, physical mutilation and the problem of the re-education of cripples; as we shall see, this category has greatly increased owing to the war. Secondly, those suffering from sensory handicaps (blind, deaf, deaf-mutes) to the numbers of which the war has not always greatly added, but whose educational difficulties it has considerably increased in the devastated countries.

To whichever category the disabilities in question belong, there is a whole series of different educational means of treating them. In the first place, wherever possible, the use of the defective organ should be redeveloped or others should be trained to supply its function. In other cases, instruction and general education should be given by methods adapted to the defect; the child should be adapted psychologically to the infirmity and so brought back to the ordinary life of society as to avoid suffering from an inferiority complex and to preserve his self-respect; lastly, he should be given vocational guidance having regard to the disability from which he suffers.

We shall find these four problems again in the two broad categories which we shall now study.

THE PROBLEM OF THE MAIMED

The position of children injured during the war

Not only did the scope of military operations include children among its victims in the civilian population; but children were not spared even in the organized assassinations of peoples; and after the Liberation, exploding mines added still further victims. A few examples will be enough to bring home to the reader this tragic situation.

In Austria there were 5,454 maimed children receiving care in institutions in 1947. In Vienna, one child a day was still being injured by explosives.

In Italy official statistics for 1947 estimated the number of children maimed at between 10,000 and 12,000; one report confirms that, out of 18,000 children injured, 10,500 were permanently mutilated. Other statistics put the number maimed at 20,000.

In Malta 600 children under the age of twelve were given hospital treatment for war injuries from 1940 to 1947.

In Poland the Warsaw uprising, in which so many children

perished, inflicted fearful injuries on many others in dramatic circumstances; for example, a little boy of nine who was having a bullet removed in hospital, had scars on his face, head and forearms, his right elbow shattered by the explosion of a shell and his fingers contracted; he is the sole survivor of a group of 36 people who were condemned to be burnt alive in a house (his mother was killed trying to escape, his father's leg was blown off by a grenade and he was burnt alive; only the child got away). A little girl of twelve lost both arms when a grenade thrown into the crowd exploded, but she survived.

After the Liberation, in three hospitals for two districts, there were more than 400 children injured by exploding mines among the ruins of the Kielce Department alone. Also, when the people who had been deported returned, they had to clear out the military hutments they were to occupy by themselves, without any expert assistance, and working in the snow. Many cases were not treated in hospital. In 1947, there were no statistics but the public health services estimated that there were several thousand maimed children suffering from war injuries. By 1948 it had already been possible to count 6,000 such children.

In 1947, there were in Czechoslovakia eight special institutions in which 896 maimed children were being re-educated.

In Yugoslavia, the number of children seriously injured in battles was estimated at 19,000 in 1947.

Rehabilitation of the maimed

The situation with regard to the opportunities for special education available to maimed children varies greatly from one devastated country to another, and most of the experiments to be seen in progress are very different according to countries and meet the needs with varying degrees of efficiency.

In Poland, in June 1947, the education of the disabled was still practically impossible owing to the lack of premises. Some of the patients were in hospitals or homes, and there was the problem of their numbers to be considered before it was possible to look after them and teach them, owing to the inadequacy of the material resources available. Only a few injured children, who were also orphans or blinded, could be sent to homes for one or other of those categories and there find an opportunity for special education to deal with their disability. This was one of the serious problems affecting war-handicapped children, for which a complete solution had to be found.

At the same period, in Yugoslavia, maimed children were also living in hospital without systematically organized instruction or training to remedy their deficiencies, although they were helped

by the devoted work of teachers who had not been trained in the methods of special education.

In Greece, in August 1948, there was only one rehabilitation centre but it was a multi-purpose one and treated and taught the maimed as well as the blind and the deaf. This centre was run by the Near East Foundation, in collaboration with voluntary organizations and government departments. In spite of a manifest shortage of equipment and the poor and cramped quarters (the ground floor of a hospital has to be used alternately, one day out of two, for adults and children), very fine rehabilitation work has been done and, being continued in summer camps, has produced good results. The disabled were given medical attention and the orthopaedic appliances necessary to assist the recovery of the use of the affected limbs. In addition, illiterates were given lessons in Greek and the older children were given vocational guidance and training in branches of handicraft likely to offer them a safe opening. Above all, the spirit of cheerful friendship which inspired this social service had a deep influence on these unfortunates, who regained their confidence and very quickly stopped regarding themselves as "poor cripples." This is an instance of the good use capable and versatile educationists can make of modest resources.

We were impressed by the rehabilitation treatment given to children, in very different surroundings, in the block set aside for the maimed at the "Cité Joyeuse" at Molenbeek in Belgium. The most seriously affected are given the teaching which had to be interrupted owing to their physical state, and physical rehabilitation is something more than mere functional recovery; the aim of the treatment is to make these children into active players, capable of competing with one another and, above all, of feeling equal to others who are not maimed, when for example they meet them in scout troops. This endeavour to restore them to society in a completely normal psychological condition is an important factor in such treatment; the centre certainly owes its achievements to the careful elaboration of its educational methods. As we have already mentioned, it is working in very close co-operation with the Decroly Institute.

In Czechoslovakia, the institutions for cripples which were closed by the occupying power during the war were re-opened at the Liberation, in spite of the destruction which the old establishments had suffered. The Prague Institution comprises three sections: the hospital, which, in 1947, contained 150 crippled children; the workrooms; and the school where 86 children were then being educated. We saw children who had lost their hands, writing quickly and correctly; they used their stumps and were able to do all they needed for themselves.

At the two Slovak Institutions in Bratislava, 170 children of school age were being educated.

These centres, like all the others we visited, are not limited to cases of war injury; the statistics provided by the Slovak Institution give us an idea of the proportion of the different types: in Slovakia, there are 905 maimed children of school age, 268 maimed from birth, 393 as the result of accident or previous illness, and 294 as the result of the war. Seventy of the pupils in the institution go to the primary school in the town and, in addition, are given special individual tuition at the institution. Others attend secondary or vocational training schools and some of them go to the school of music. Here too the children are trained to overcome their disabilities in a most striking way. We saw one child, with only one leg and both hands amputated, not only adjust the orthopaedic appliance for his leg quickly, using the stumps of his wrists, but also write so easily with pen or chalk that he is able to attend classes at the primary school regularly. It was estimated that there were 165 war-disabled children not placed.

In Italy, the medical, social and scholastic retraining of the physically handicapped is the subject of the most careful attention on the part of official and private organizations. Italy is the only country in Europe which manufactures specially adapted orthopaedic appliances on a large scale (e.g. the Rizzoli Institute at Bologna). The main organizations concerned with the rehabilitation of the disabled are grouped in "Disabled Headquarters", attached to the Ministry of Health.

The best equipped institution for the rehabilitation of the disabled is that of Professor Francesco in Parma; it provides 250 children with every modern convenience and the latest appliances and treatment, and also furnishes tuition, apprenticeship training and education, in the widest sense, in leisure time and games. One hundred other disabled children are being brought up in the modern township of the San Michele Orphanage at Tor Marancia. The Director would like to enlarge this centre considerably to accommodate 2,000 maimed children, for whom local factories would supply the necessary appliances.

In Milan, war-disabled children are accommodated in Don Carlo Gnocchi's Institution, the "Casa de Don Oriono", and we saw with what great care they are being restored to the life of society as useful, self-respecting individuals. In Rome, the Leonarda Vaccari institution is working particularly for the rehabilitation of children suffering from motor defects; every morning special trams transport 450 school children who live in their own homes to the Institution, where they are educated and do practical and artistic work; they are also given vocational training.

These few instances give some idea of the great efforts which have already been made; but the large number of young disabled

people who are still without attention shows what a task confronts special education.

THE PROBLEM OF SENSORY DEFECTS

As we have seen, this problem is, in some instances, a factor in the general question of the rehabilitation of complex cases of disability; where the war-blinded are concerned, for instance, it is seldom sight alone which is affected. (In Italy, for example, a very large number of the 10,500 children permanently crippled as the result of their war wounds have multiple defects: 600 of them are blind as well, and 60 are blind and have lost both arms or both forearms). Very often, however, sensory defects due to the war are treated in special schools for the blind or deaf and dumb, irrespective of the origin of the infirmity. In the war-devastated countries, the general rehabilitation of such defectives was interrupted by the war and now has to be resumed and brought up to date in extremely difficult circumstances.

The statistics for such cases of sensory deficiency are often incomplete and are also difficult to interpret, as they sometimes refer to war cases and sometimes to the figures for the blind or deaf and dumb in general. The following figures, however, indicate the extent of the problem.

In Italy, the Ministry of Education's statistics mentioned 1,300 blind persons and 4,000 deaf and dumb in 1947.

In Poland, the 16 institutions for the deaf and dumb were cleared out by the Germans. By 1947 it had been possible to reopen nine of them in temporary premises. In Silesia, the largest school in the world for the deaf and dumb was partly destroyed by the war. In 1947, institutions for the blind were still unable to accommodate more than a third of the pre-war figures. Charitable organizations were taking active measures to have an institute opened at Lodz, which would be able to take in 400 pupils.

In Czechoslovakia, the national statistical service at Prague reported that, in 1947, there were seven schools for the deaf and dumb with an enrolment of 954 children, and three for the blind, providing for 280 children. In Slovakia, it had not then been possible to find places for 660 deaf mutes and 116 blind children.

In Yugoslavia, the number of war-blinded children is said to be considerable; it is probably as high as 18,000.

Re-education in the war-devastated countries—a few instances

It may be said that, in the devastated countries, the position with regard to re-education in special homes is essentially determined

by the material resources available. However, the teachers' ability, ingenuity and devotion can always produce remarkable results in education from the only too often wretched circumstances in which they work.

We have seen that, in Greece, there is no specialized institution which can at present take in sensory defectives, but that some of them are treated at the multi-purpose Rehabilitation Centre run by the Near East Foundation.

In Italy, the war-blinded can be admitted to certain institutions for general re-adaptation, but the majority are accommodated in specialized institutions, irrespective of the origin of their infirmity. An example is the Romagnoli Institute, which has twenty war-blinded people among its 100 patients and has had to refuse 45 other applications for admission. The children are kept in close contact with nature, and learn to use other faculties instead of the missing sense. Educational games and practical work are a far more important factor in their education than oral instruction. In the senior classes, their cultural training is supplemented by art classes, and the children are prepared to return to ordinary life. Some of the pupils take university degrees. In northern Italy, institutions for the blind train specially for musical careers.

There are in Italy a number of homes for the deaf and dumb, such as the "Via Nomentana" State Institution and the Smaldone Institute for girls. The latest methods are tried out and the Directors themselves undertake the training of the teachers. The educational equipment used is very complicated and there are many workrooms providing very varied opportunities of apprenticeship training. The children enjoy excellent health and are very bright and cheerful.

In Poland, where special education became compulsory after the war, the schools could not always accept even half the applications for admission they were receiving in 1947, owing to lack of space. The school for the deaf and dumb which we visited at Lodz also included a few pupils who were deaf only or simply hard of hearing. The war added to the numbers of defectives of the various sorts, due to the recrudescence of certain infants' diseases, in particular otitis and diseases of the brain; moreover, a larger proportion of such children than before the war also have nervous complications.

It is easier to train deaf mutes to speak before they reach the age of ten, but the war made the task difficult by increasing the numbers of retarded children. The children are educated in small groups of twelve and individual methods are used in the nursery school, the primary division and the vocational training classes. We were most favourably impressed by the individuality and sociability of these children who, having been taken in time, were lip-reading fluently,

speaking, and receiving academic and artistic training; two former pupils have become painters at the College of Art; one deaf girl is at the Teachers' Training College, and there are trade workshops which prepare the majority of the pupils for manual work. Nevertheless, the material needs are very great. Not only is the school equipment of the poorest, but there are no hearing aids (which can assist so greatly in re-education), and it is thus more difficult to equip the deaf for life in society.

The home for the training of the blind at Lodz is also very poor but very active. At the time of our visit the cramped temporary premises in which this State Institution was housed made it impossible to accept more than a third of the applicants for admission. Owing to the lack of space, no pre-school education can yet be given, and blind children in the neighbourhood are still exploited by beggars. Pupils in the institution, some of whom are also crippled, are given practical and artistic training in small groups of six; we admired their musical performances and what they have produced in the visual arts. It is only poverty which restricts their education. As there are not enough Braille books or musical scores, the most gifted children cannot follow their vocation; the printing works for the blind in Warsaw was destroyed and, at present, books have to be hand written.

In Czechoslovakia, on two different visits, we saw what a contrast there was between a wretched institution fitted up in temporary premises in Bratislava and the Kranica Institute, which has been able to recover spacious and suitably designed premises, although its equipment has been lost. The school and the boarding-house are installed in enormous modern buildings standing alone in a magnificent natural setting on a mountain side and furnished comfortably and tastefully.

There is a vocational training school which prepares pupils for manual trades. Some of them are placed out as apprentices as soon as their education enables them to overcome their handicap sufficiently to resume life in society. In order to allow every pupil to develop all his aptitudes as quickly as possible, each class is divided into three groups: intelligent children, average children, and children of less than average intelligence but who can still be taught. The teachers are not specially trained but they have to have a real vocation for the work and this is tested by a probationary period of two years at the Home.

The young pupils are very appreciative of art and lead a very intense inner life, accompanied by a lively enthusiasm and a highly developed appreciation of reality. They are very cheerful and never suffer from inferiority complexes; they show an intense desire to hear about children belonging to different cultural groups and to exchange news with them. The teachers supervise the psychological

development of the pupils with the aid of the free drawings which they are asked to do before and after certain lessons.

Of the five institutions in Czechoslovakia for the rehabilitation of the blind, the Slovak Institute at Levoca which we visited includes 10 per cent of war-blinded children.

They are adapted to the life they will have to lead. Their abilities and the possible use of their other senses to make up for their blindness are considered; their initiative is developed; they are given primary education and the lower grades of secondary education. After the age of fifteen, the adolescents attend the specially equipped vocational training school for the blind in the town.

The present teachers are extremely enthusiastic and have been trained in methods of individual education. In recruiting them, their exceptional qualities of personality are considered and, as far as possible, they are chosen from among teachers who have travelled abroad.

The foregoing descriptions relate to serious sensory defects for which highly developed special education is necessary. But it is no less important to think of the *partial* defects which make it impossible for a child to follow lessons for normal children; although such deficiencies are not serious enough to require treatment in schools for the blind or the deaf and dumb, they, nevertheless, inevitably entail failures at school and in social life, which might easily have been prevented.

The problem of the amblyopic comes under this heading.¹ The war made it more serious by upsetting the arrangements for school medical inspections and by its repercussions on the general health of children. In the Anglo-Saxon countries and in France one or two children in every thousand come into this category; in the latter country, for instance, it would be necessary to open 400 classes to deal with 8,000 amblyopic children. Such classes have now been started in various European countries and in the United States of America and Canada. Some of them are attached to special schools and some to schools for normal children; in some cases, the schools are independent. We visited one of them at Milan in Italy (the Piazza Leonardo School), which not only had special school equipment but also exercised a very real psychological supervision over all the children's personalities. It is indeed important that the children should not be made unfit for social life by their infirmity; many experts therefore think it better to bring their pupils into

¹ Renée Odic, "Rapport sur le développement des classes d'amblyopes en France, Congrès d'hygiène scolaire et universitaire, 1947", *Hygiène et Médecine scolaires* (Paris, 1947), vol. I, n° 2, pp. 73-78.
Lenaerts, "Une classe d'amblyopes à l'Institut provincial pour sourds-muets et aveugles à Berchem-Sainte-Agathe-les-Bruxelles", *Hygiène et Médecine scolaires* (Paris, 1947), vol. I, n° 2, pp. 80-85.
B. Ethel Young, "Quelques données sur les écoles d'amblyopes à Londres", *Hygiène et Médecine scolaires* (Paris, 1947), vol. I, n° 2, pp. 86-92.

contact as closely as possible with normal children. It is possible that, when appliances are perfected, such children may in future be educated in classes for normal children. What is essential at present is that all the cases should be systematically diagnosed and that suitable educational measures should be taken.

The same problem arises for those who are *partially deaf*. There are certain independent schools, for example, at Brno in Czechoslovakia; there too the combination of proper diagnosis and appliances should lead to a solution of the problem.

This chapter on physical deficiencies should include some reference also to *speech impediments*, particularly stammering. Such disorders no doubt seem very slight in comparison with the serious cases we have considered, and it is understandable that countries which have had to cope with the terrible post-war calamities have not yet had an opportunity to organize diagnosis and systematic treatment for them. Countries such as the United States of America are at present best organized to undertake such work. Some devastated countries, however, like France, are at present including this question in their medical and educational research. The war and the numerous psychological injuries to which it gave rise, may well have caused or resuscitated such disorders. The trouble may begin through a psychological injury and it is a typical symptom of psycho-somatic disorder. Centres such as Brambling House in Great Britain, which we have already mentioned, suitably equipped to provide highly specialized educational and psychological assistance for the physically handicapped, seem best fitted for the education and training of such children.

Conclusion

Although the above accounts deal with only a very limited number of examples of physical defects, they indicate sufficiently how serious and widespread the problem is. Although we have dwelt mainly on the strictly educational aspects, we have had to refer to the orthopaedic and general health measures necessary, which are of fundamental importance in rehabilitation. Before they can benefit from the carefully planned education to be provided for them by capable teachers, handicapped children need appliances to correct or diminish their deficiencies. They are not unnecessary luxuries in education, and those crippled children we saw changed into brilliant players would not have been so happy and so well-balanced if their pathetic stumps had not been supported by specially designed jointed appliances. In order to achieve the complete and many-sided education whose essential requirements we listed at the beginning of the paragraph dealing with localized defects, we must ensure that every one of these is fully met, just as pure air and open

spaces are essential for the delicate child who is exhausted by school work. But by themselves, they would never suffice to build up normal human beings, unless the finest traits of human character were carefully taught and cultivated in such sufferers as these war-handicapped children. Our visits to these few schools have shown us how well aware the teachers are of the importance of a sound psychological attitude if normal instruction is to be given. Their successes prove the truth of that fact and are an earnest for the future.

While the war and invasion robbed the devastated countries of the twofold benefit of educational development and cultural interchange, much research was continued in the unoccupied countries in relation to handicapped children and their education, from the point of view both of technical orthopaedic and teaching equipment and of psychological readaptation. It is therefore particularly imperative that ever-increasing numbers of educational specialists should be able to study the latest methods which exemplify the progress made in the last few years in the places where they are employed. Specialists in the war-devastated countries are most anxious to be able to travel and study in the United States of America, Canada, Sweden and Switzerland, and Unesco, through its fellowship schemes, has already made possible some achievements in this field. The rehabilitation of existing cases of disability and the prevention of future complications depend upon the extension of such measures as well as on the sending of educational missions and the inauguration of pilot projects.

PSYCHOLOGICAL DISORDERS

It is hardly necessary to say that such disorders are the most serious and the most complex. Balanced and harmonious psychological development gives a so-called "well integrated" personality its individual and social value; any disturbance of such a development threatens the health of the individual and of society at the same time. The whole report on war-handicapped children is a long description of the many grave injuries which the child's personality suffered in the social upheavals brought about by such widespread and prolonged hostilities. As we have seen, so far as they cause psychological suffering and abnormality, the problems raised by the disruption of the framework of society and by physical disability call for specific and urgent educational solutions. In this chapter, we shall examine the psychological disorders which we have not yet studied.¹

These disorders take many forms in society and in individuals; it is, therefore, somewhat artificial and arbitrary to divide them for the present purpose into categories, which generally overlap. However, their effects sometimes become so obvious and serious that, in describing them, it is necessary to distinguish between:

- Obvious forms of anti-social behaviour in children (delinquency and predelinquency);
- Masked or hidden forms of anti-social behaviour (defects of character, prejudice, family problems).

It is interesting also to note new characteristics in children who have been through the war, so that not only re-education but education itself may be on a true psychological basis.

OBVIOUS FORMS OF ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR. DELINQUENT AND PRE-DELINQUENT CHILDREN

The old term reformatory, regarded as an expiatory punishment, distinguished between the pre-delinquent and the delinquent. From the point of view of re-education, the methods for both groups are the same, so that at present children of both types are in some

¹ In this report, we shall omit the problem of retarded mental development which is caused by physical defect and is not an outcome of the war.

cases educated together, even in those countries in which the former category comes officially under the Ministry of Education while the latter is within the purview of the Ministry of Justice.

The post-war extent of the problem. A critical study of the statistics

Statistics throughout the world showed so marked an outbreak of delinquency during the war (not only in the devastated countries) that general interest was aroused among those who came up against any particular aspect of the problem (psychological, public assistance, educational or legal). This increase reached its peak in 1943, and then showed a general decline, but some statistics now indicate a disturbing fresh outbreak.¹ On the whole, the figures are still too high for us to overlook the problem, now that the advance of educational psychology supplies us with fuller data for its study. Certain international surveys show how serious it is; we may mention the Conference of experts convened in Geneva in 1947 by the International Union for Child Welfare; the International Conference held at Fredeburg in September, 1948, by the British "Save Europe Now" Association, which, after examining the problem of German youth, is publishing a survey and putting forward recommendations of general application; and, lastly, the International Conference convened in Paris in October 1948 by the Division of Social Activities of the United Nations Department of Social Affairs, in order to arrange a full and methodical study of "The Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders".

We cannot entirely overlook the statistics, for they give an idea of the extent of the problem but, even in that respect, their indications are very incomplete. It is quite impossible to compare one country with another, for the population varies in size; there are not enough police; the children hide. In addition, the law and legal systems differ considerably between nations and the same actions are not everywhere regarded as offences (vagrancy, prostitution, breaches of regulations). In certain countries, such as the Scandinavian countries, as children under the age of fifteen are not brought to court, the statistics for delinquents and pre-delinquents cannot be distinguished. In certain other countries, such as Poland, records were destroyed in the war and any survey over a period of time has become impossible.

In any case, the important thing from the point of view of rehabilitation is not the statistics of actual delinquents but the total figures of young people who are maladjusted and may become delinquents. From a few countries we have obtained approximate figures for each of these two groups.

¹ "Rising Tide of Delinquency. House of Lords Debate", *Times Educational Supplement* (London, 27 November 1948), No. 1, p. 752.

In Austria, the number of minor children sentenced in Vienna alone ¹ was 1,010 in 1936 and 2,607 in 1946.

In Belgium, ² the number of minors charged was: 14,550 in 1939, 33,661 in 1942, 26,324 in 1943 and 21,131 in 1946. The number of minors brought to trial was: 2,029 in 1939, 5,110 in 1942, 4,908 in 1943 and 4,751 in 1946.

In Denmark, the peak figure for juvenile delinquency was reached in 1943 and has since been declining. The Council for Child Welfare interrogated 2,201 children in 1944 and 2,009 in 1945; ³ the number of adolescents between the ages of fifteen and eighteen brought to court used to be approximately 1,000 per annum before the war but in 1943 was 1,786.

In Finland, the number of minors between the ages of fifteen and seventeen condemned to imprisonment was 462 in 1939, 1,415 in 1943 and 1,165 in 1946. ⁴

In France, the number of cases brought to court was 15,811 in 1935, 25,053 in 1940 and 48,037 in 1942. ⁵

The figure in the latest statistics is 37,000 and, in addition, it is estimated that 300,000 maladjusted children should receive preventive treatment. ⁶ The situation caused the *Conseil supérieur de la Magistrature* (Higher Council of Law Officers) to express concern to the President of the Republic.

In Great Britain, 52,814 minors were brought before the Juvenile Courts in 1939 and 72,940 in 1945. In 1946, 300,000 children were apparently in need of preventive care in institutions. ⁷ We shall see later, incidentally, that the statistics for 1948 show a fresh upward movement.

In Hungary, 5,636 cases were dealt with in the Children's Courts in 1939, 7,010 in 1943 and 3,691 in 1946. ⁸

In Italy, the statistics show 5,507 cases in Rome and the four adjoining provinces in 1939, and 7,220 in 1940. ⁹ Owing to changes in the police force we cannot take the following years into account, and in 1946 the Ministry of Justice reported that there were 10,000

¹ "La guerre et la délinquance juvénile. Conférence d'experts réunie à Genève du 29 avril au 2 mai 1947", *Revue internationale de l'Enfant* (Genève, 1947), vol. XI, nos 2-3, p. 71.

² Belgique, *Application de la loi du 15 mai 1912 sur la protection de l'enfance. Résultats statistiques comparatifs. Années 1939 à 1946*, pp. 4-5.

³ "The War and Juvenile Delinquency. Conference of experts convened at Geneva, April 29th to May 2nd, 1947", *International Child Welfare Review* (Geneva 1947), vol. I, nos 2-3, p. 63.

⁴ "La guerre et la délinquance juvénile. Conférence d'experts réunie à Genève du 29 avril au 2 mai 1947", *Revue internationale de l'Enfant* (Genève 1947), vol. XI, nos 2-3, p. 64.

⁵ "The War and Juvenile Delinquency", *op. cit.*, p. 74; Heuyer, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁶ Simone Huymen, "L'enfance délinquante; perspectives et tendances", *Bulletin bimestriel du Conseil national des Femmes belges* (Bruxelles juin 1948), n° XI.

⁷ "The War and Juvenile Delinquency", *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁸ "La guerre et la délinquance juvénile", *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁹ "The War and Juvenile Delinquency", *op. cit.*, p. 65.

minors between the ages of eight and eighteen in its institutions and that 18,268 were brought before the courts in the first half of the year.¹ In addition, considering the weak children only, the minimum number who could benefit from rehabilitation treatment is estimated at 180,000.²

In Norway, 5,016 cases were judged in the courts in 1939 and 30,152 in 1944; those dealt with by the Board of Guardians numbered 1,668 in 1939, 2,440 in 1943 and 1,623 in 1945.³

In the Netherlands, the number of cases brought before the *Kinderrechters* was 2,484 in 1939 and 6,198 in 1943. Moreover, 5,000 young political delinquents were provisionally discharged and released on conditions (the total number of young political delinquents was 9,759, of whom 2,000 have been placed in camps and are working out of doors with the object of restoring them to a free society).⁴

Poland reports a considerable increase but, owing to the destruction of its records, it is impossible to give precise figures.⁵

Switzerland, which was not directly touched by the war, reports an increase in delinquency in the Canton of Basle amounting to 100 per cent in the course of the war and reaching the maximum in 1942 (there are no statistics for the whole of the country).⁶

These few examples are enough to show how general was the outbreak of juvenile delinquency in Europe during the war and particularly in 1943. It is interesting to note the general characteristics of this delinquency. The increase in the number of offences was remarked not in violent assault but in theft, where boys were concerned, and prostitution, where girls were concerned. The bloodier aspects of war, destroying respect for human life, might have permanently influenced these young people, who were so familiar with massacres and international crimes and who grew so accustomed to cremation chambers and execution posts that they became coldly indifferent to the sight of death,⁷ and there was instead an increasing disregard for property rights, but we shall see that to explain the crime of stealing one must investigate the entire background. Recent statistics from the Warsaw Selection Centre show us, for instance, that there is a relation between the outbreak of theft and that of vagrancy.⁸

¹ "The War and Juvenile Delinquency", *op. cit.*, p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, p. 131.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁷ Chesters, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6, 9.

⁸ Szeminska, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 and 141.

It is also important to note that this increase in juvenile delinquency during the war is part of a total increase in delinquency in general, and that the curve for offences by adults is no less marked than that for breaches of the law by young people. There was evidently a tragic contagion at work, which means that the re-education of the children is synonymous with that of the whole social environment.

The causes of delinquency have been repeatedly studied by experts throughout the world, who have concentrated particularly on defining the obvious influence of the war. As in all the problems considered in this report, the war produced its vicious effects in this instance also through the social and family disruptions to which it gave rise. Sometimes the specialists describe these causes in technical language and sometimes in the moving accents of humanity, but, whether they appear in the observations of lawyers, psychiatrists or psychologists, they must mean something to educationists; "Basing ourselves on the findings of children's courts, we may postulate that, with very rare exceptions, the vagrant child or the child who steals or brings himself to notice by serious misbehaviour, is suffering from the lack of the educational environment he requires. He is always in some way (moral, mental or material) a neglected child".¹

If we are to learn from a fact of society, it is not enough indiscriminately to establish the relation of cause and effect between an individual action and a given situation; we have to "interpret the psychological reaction"² of the individual considered in relation to that situation. Only then can our educational system draw advantage from our observations. The social behaviour of an adolescent is meaningless unless it is considered, both in connection with the general environment and in the narrower framework of his own life, in relation to his psychological needs and the past history of frustrations he has suffered.

As we said above, we shall in this study ignore mental deficiency as a cause of delinquency, since the war has not apparently forged any new link between the two. The most generally observed forms of delinquency required a lively intelligence, as was evidenced by the intelligence quotient of the children examined. Owing to the war, delinquency spread to classes which had previously been immune from criminal influences. According to Dr Heuyer's statistics, only 28 per cent of the subjects, instead of 42 per cent before the war, are of limited or low intelligence, and 72 per cent are of adequate, average, or higher than average intelligence.

¹ Jean Plaquevent, "Abandon moral et délinquance". offprint of the *Revue internationale de l'Enfant* (Genève 1942), vol. VI, n^{os} 1-5, p. 4.

² Nicole Perroti, *Problèmes psychologiques du peuple italien*. Rapport présenté à la Conférence internationale du Service social, La Haye, 15-19 September 1947, p. 2.

Moreover, 37 per cent, as compared with 30 per cent before the war, show no defects of character and, upon the whole, it seems that during the war and the occupation "social causes took precedence over factors originating in the individual in giving rise to delinquency". By creating abnormal situations on a truly experimental scale, the war may teach us about the psychological mechanical factors in delinquency. We shall have made a great step forward if we succeed in discovering what imperfections in our system of education they indicate; we can then do our work of re-education with a proper understanding of the facts.

The social atmosphere of the adult world during the war was, for varying reasons, an unhealthy environment for children. The inversion of moral values in the underground struggle not only justified, but glorified lying, theft, fraud and even murder as far as the enemy was concerned. An adolescent who is sufficiently mature and morally sound and balanced can appreciate the factors which, in war-time, make heroic certain actions which are abnormal in society—actions performed at risk of death or torture for a national or humanitarian cause. But a younger child may not be interested in this intellectual motive (which is the motive of an adult); he replaces it by the motives which influence his own age—whole-hearted interest in the action itself, the successful execution of which he plans delightedly, with no thought for the moral aspect. The following extract from an expert's report illustrates the position: "In Holland... the two young sons of one of my friends, a teacher, told me with malicious satisfaction how they had taken part in the Young People's Resistance Movement and how, on dark nights, they used to push German soldiers into the canals and let them drown there. It was really disturbing for these young people to find, on waking up one morning, that what was heroic the day before had suddenly become criminal... Such exploits appeal to the child's spirit of adventure and, so far, are educational. The other side of the picture is that they teach him a war-time morality which is the direct opposite of that which guides conduct in a civilized country in normal life in peace-time."¹ An adolescent who is not living in a normal educational environment does not always find within himself sufficient steadiness to redress the balance. Moreover, an adolescent with vicious tendencies (probably also due to faults in education) may take advantage of the general overthrow of values resulting from the war to satisfy a private aggressive urge (what fun to be able to be heroic by burgling the Prefecture which is held by the enemy).

The necessities of life, too, justified many dishonest acts, the original motive for which was simply to avoid starvation—thus

¹ L. H. Green, "The Protection of Children in Time of War", *The World's Children* (London, September 1948), vol. XXVIII., p. 296.

serving individual egoism for reasons of legitimate self-defence. Many children had to use all their intelligence and energy for the mere purpose of survival. Now habit may make them follow the same course to satisfy unessential needs in the post-war world.

Under the collaborating governments in the occupied countries, some of the population lost confidence in the State's authority and in the justice and protection afforded by the mother country; the result was the encouragement of private interests, and of the "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost" attitude. The lure of money with its compensations offered an easily realized ambition through the temptations of the black market. Not only were children affected by this social psychosis—as the collective dealings which were carried on in institutions show, even when the children's families were not poor—but they also lost confidence in grown-ups who, generally speaking, ceased to be their protectors and at times exploited and tortured them or at least led them into ideological errors for which costly atonement had to be made. To many of the children who came to the communities after long sufferings, grown-ups represented "public enemy No. 1", and it is understandable that they found it only natural to deceive them and to get round their regulations; they behave towards grown-ups as they would towards a dangerous animal. Furthermore, children who have suffered have a longing for revenge and compensation which seem to them to be a "right", as observers report.¹

The child's own environment plays a still more important part in such circumstances, since it alone (as we saw when discussing orphans) can protect him from the material, intellectual and moral dangers of a world turned upside-down. The findings of enquiries throughout the world thus all agree in recognizing the break-up of the family as the prime cause of delinquency. This factor is mentioned in statistics in 88 per cent of the cases in France, 70 per cent in Belgium, 73 per cent in the United States of America, 62 per cent in England and 50 per cent in Italy.² Here, however, we have to guard against a facile interpretation and try to discover exactly what is the normal psychological rôle of a good family. A delinquent child may also be suffering from bad conditions at home, and in some cases vagrant children run away from home as they do from bad orphanages. In families which are bad from the educational point of view, some apparently good children are driven by fear to conceal an anti-social attitude, which finds open expression when the "taboo" or the restrictive authority is removed. Paternal discipline often comes under this heading. A child who feels within himself that he has been unfairly tyrannized, gets his

¹ Chesters, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7 and 9.

² Heuyer, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

own back, when the tyrant disappears, by using his freedom badly and sometimes by taking the place of the bully himself.

On the other hand, as we have seen, the memory of the absent parent may continue to inspire and safeguard the child, when his emotional links with his family have been normal. Inefficiency and incompetence on the part of the mother (due to inadequate training and the survival of an outmoded social structure) aggravate the situation; psycho-analytic studies of young Germans provide evidence of this.¹ Force and weakness are bad educators; the teacher derives his prestige and authority from an affectionate and understanding moderation.

The school also plays its part in protecting and safeguarding a child's social behaviour and, during the war, the cessation of attendance at school combined with the break-up of families in influencing children.

Moreover, the part played by the school is still more important when the child has lost his family. The quality of the teacher then counts for much. We noticed this in the orphans' communities and rehabilitation homes we visited. Teachers who succeeded in arousing real affection and admiration in the children and who also, by giving them opportunities for the experiences demanded at their age, gave their interest in life a normal outlet, have corrected or prevented the development of delinquency in what seemed to be the most difficult cases. Even if he has no parents, a child who feels that someone loves him and who is afraid of causing sorrow to a person dear to him, who trusts him, rarely exhibits an anti-social attitude or, if he does, quickly abandons it. Following is one of many striking examples. An orphan girl who had been living in one of the old-fashioned and forbidding institutions of pre-war days and had never been allowed to call her guardian "mother", ran away during the war, when an adolescent, and lapsed into prostitution. She was arrested and sent to a reformatory, where she tried to commit suicide, and was then sent to a psychiatric clinic. She was at last placed in an efficient home for rehabilitation where the headmistress was fond of her; she took no notice of the wide-open gates and, as she said, enjoyed happiness such as she had never known before. The discovery of a taste for sport, in which she excels, is finally restoring her moral balance and her value as a member of society.

Many such examples have been quoted to us. Delinquents who are despised and rebuffed nourish hatred or lose hope, fall back into crime or commit suicide; those who are given the honour of responsibility are whole-heartedly devoted to their benefactors. The outcast whom the world no longer trusts declines to trust the world

¹ International Congress on Mental Health, London 1948, IV. *Proceedings of the International Conference on Mental Hygiene*, 16-21 August. J. C. Flugel, editor. London, H. K. Lewis and Co. Ltd., New York, Columbia University Press, 1949, p. 71.

and takes, by force or guile, what the hand of a friend should have given. The child to whom a grown-up holds out his arms, wishes in his turn to know the joy of giving.

Thus the psychological needs of children become particularly clear when we consider the machinery for preventing or remedying anti-social attitudes:

A child needs a personal relationship with an adult:

- to satisfy his natural desire for affection;
- to enjoy a sense of protection when he is called upon to undergo experiences beyond his years;
- to give the fragile and undeveloped personality standing in the eyes of his society, so that the child can feel like others;
- and lastly, to give him a desire to grow and improve, and thus to stimulate his development.

If a child is to "grow up psychologically", however, he must also make experiments in his education in which he may practise control of his faculties. In this way, he learns to overcome external difficulties and to master given situations. This exercise, in complete freedom, brings him a sense of self-respect and creative joy, which is the keystone of psychological health, particularly when his experiments are made in an atmosphere of mutual trust and sympathy between the teacher and the child.

The specialists who developed their study of delinquency during the war—whether technical experts, psychologists or rehabilitation workers—all emphasize the need for keeping alive in adolescents a keen sense of human dignity and creative joy for the prevention or correction of anti-social tendencies. When a child does not enjoy such a sense of fulfilment in normal conditions, he may seek some compensation which is undesirable from the point of view of society. Some delinquents have admitted that they were glad of the notoriety brought them by a law case, which relieved the dull monotony of their life.¹ Through the war children encountered a type of heroism no longer governed by the social laws of peace time. It is the duty of the post-war period to provide opportunities for their passion for action, to convert and guide that desire for self-assertion in a socially desirable direction. The "sciussia" who, during the war, appeared in alarming numbers in Italy, are becoming fewer, thanks to modern homes for re-education; this proves that children can quickly become normal when they are placed in a favourable environment. As we are told by an Italian expert, narrow institutions of the traditional type produce an unhealthy state of mind and make them turn away from society again.

¹ Plaquevent, *op. cit.*

The re-education of the morally neglected and delinquents is now everywhere understood to be necessary; efforts to deal with the problem are being generally made. We now know that, in most cases, when there is no permanent physical defect, the problem of delinquency can be solved by education. Health and Child Guidance Services are co-operating actively in the discussion of the many cases which can be cured and are constantly increasing their numbers. Specialists in children's problems are not the only ones who are convinced of this, and who are making sporadic efforts in different domains to find practical solutions. Governments, charitable organizations and large currents of public opinion are tending to organize experiments and to extend them, through the close collaboration of specialists and the departments concerned. Efforts are being made everywhere on a large or small scale, with many or few material facilities, but always with the same conviction and the same satisfactory results.

The war-devastated countries are playing a large part in this development. Every one of them has made provision in its legal and educational system for the delinquency arising from the war. In this respect, they still differ from one another by reason of some of the measures taken but, on the whole, the circumstances due to the war have stimulated everywhere the same evolutionary movement, by necessitating either hasty reforms where the old penitentiary system had survived or important progressive measures in countries in which interesting pioneer work in re-education had already been done. The psychological facts of childhood, observed by careful and understanding teachers, have led them to introduce the sort of educational system which appeared to be necessary.

Malta, which was badly ravaged by the war, provides a typical instance of such re-organization. In order to prevent the psychosomatic disorders entailed by punitive systems, the old reformatory was, in 1944, transformed into an institution providing controlled education, where new methods were introduced. Teaching is now based on that given in primary schools. There are workshops in which the pupils have an opportunity for varied types of work which supplement the academic lessons; social activities are extremely important; dramatic art, orchestral and choral music, libraries and films all make their contribution to the training of the children, who also go in for various types of sport and become members of the scout troop. "They are so interested in the school and leisure-time occupations that they have no opportunity to get up to tricks", we were told by the Director, and yet, when they arrive, these children, who are not always very bright, are suffering from emotional disturbances; 70 per cent of them are illiterate and, in most cases, the home influence is thoroughly bad.

In addition to the institution providing "controlled education", St. Patrick's Industrial School should be mentioned. In normal times this school is intended for difficult children, but at present it is crowded with orphans and neglected children. The number of boarders has doubled since the school was founded and there are long waiting lists of applications for admission, from the Department of Education, the Department of Justice or private organizations.

Unfortunately, it has not yet been possible to equip observation centres and to divide the children into groups according to age, because the premises are inadequate. Such difficulties considerably hamper education, and so does the shortage of psychologists who could give trained assistance in re-educating the children.

Owing to Malta's isolation, constant exchange visits to other countries would be necessary for this purpose; such visits are particularly desirable as the results already achieved in rather unfavourable material circumstances are extremely encouraging.

In other countries, the general application of new measures is still hampered by material difficulties and by the shortage of teachers, although efforts are being made by the government to organize the rehabilitation system on a new basis and certain institutions have made important experiments thanks to the high quality of their teachers.

In Poland, for instance, in 1947, the Ministries of Justice and Education were already collaborating in the care of delinquent children and, while the children's courts were still under the authority of the Ministry of Justice, they referred to a psychologist before giving judgment. There is, in the neighbourhood of Lodz, an institution for re-education which has taken the place of the old reformatory and is a pioneer in the post-war effort to adapt new education methods to children's needs; the Institute of Mental Health is also helping in this work of reform.

As a centre for new education, this Institute caters for difficult children and delinquents who may or may not have been sentenced, many of whom are orphans and precociously mature. Many of them were made aggressive by seeing their parents cruelly treated. In some cases, they were simply very unhappy at home and, being unjustly ill-treated, conceived a distrust of society. The teachers exercise no repressive discipline and try to restore these young people's lost confidence and to bring out what is good in their natures. The impulse to deceive persists in these children for some time but understanding gradually awakens. They are free, and show, by their unwillingness to leave the school, how interesting they find their new existence. Their newly restored confidence encourages them to be obedient. Youth organizations and out-of-school activities,

clubs which are independent of the school and are run by the children, entailing responsibilities for them, are an important factor in their re-education and re-integration into society. The family atmosphere of the living quarters, in which the children have small rooms and the training in arts and crafts supplements the academic instruction, complete the cure of these young people whose personality has been deformed by cruel circumstances. It is often difficult to secure the families' co-operation. The mothers, however, prove comparatively willing to meet the school half way at the meetings and talks specially arranged for parents.

The results achieved by this remarkable educational work, in spite of the undeniable inadequacy of the equipment and premises, are cheering evidence of the possibility of solving the critical problem of anti-social attitudes caused or aggravated in children owing to the war.

In Italy also since the Liberation, various private groups have worked jointly with the courts to ensure this kind of rehabilitation, for which provision was first made by the law of 1943. In November 1945, the "National Institute for the Moral Welfare of Children" was established under the auspices of the Ministries concerned and with the energetic co-operation of scientists and experts. This Institute makes it possible to co-ordinate the efforts of institutions concerned with the preventive and remedial care of morally neglected children and supplements the work of the State organizations. The most effective work is being done in Milan and Rome. The Children's Community at Santa Marinella, near Rome, is an educational experiment which was the subject of a detailed report in "Children's Communities", a publication produced by Unesco on the Trogen Conference. In Milan, the "After-Care Organization attached to the Children's Court" is not only a co-ordinating body but also a centre for observation, study and treatment of all the educational problems of neglected children, and is working in close co-operation with the Cesare Beccaria Institute, where psychological guidance and treatment for delinquent children is being organized. Similarly, the "Redemption Home" helps children who have not been prosecuted in court. In Turin, the Special Teacher's Training College has tried to establish contact with the children's court and reformatories, but there are still great difficulties; the same is true at Naples, where the very stringent material conditions necessitate considerable support.

Other countries affected by the war are fortunate enough to have a general scheme of re-education which was already organized before the war, and are benefiting from the impetus acquired over a short or long period by the new methods which are today proving indispensable.

Belgium, for example, has since 1912 had a child welfare system which is closely connected with the judicial machinery; following this example, twelve European countries have established residential observation centres in which teams of specialists try to discover and to meet the complex needs of children. The Moll-Huttes Institution, which is the central establishment of the Ministry of Justice's Child Welfare Department, is a pioneer observation centre in the work of classification and re-education by graduated stages. By continued observation of all the mental and emotional cases, it is possible to discover the individual needs of every child for his rehabilitation and to check up on the gradual improvement which follows the use of the appropriate methods. The combination of individual observation, social observation and scientific examination makes it possible to select the methods to be used in each case, and the different buildings specially organized for the purpose enable varied methods to be used. The Teachers' Training College attached to the Institution completes the latter's unquestionable educational value.¹

Moreover, children's judges in Belgium stress the need for magistrates to be efficient psychologists, and the great importance of "supervised freedom" in the process of re-education. By this means it is possible to remove a child from his environment and to give him a fresh status. It is used successfully by boarding the children with private families when the latter prove really understanding and look upon their boarder not as a servant but as their own child. Five hundred cases in which these conditions are fulfilled in the neighbourhood of Charleroi are proving extremely satisfactory. The Homes in which the children are allowed a measure of freedom are also a valuable instrument in education, as they organize spare time and encourage work outside, which allows the children to acquire increasing responsibility as they move upward in the social scale. The experiments at the Wanfercée Home were most convincing.²

In France, although from 1936 onwards the repressive systems had been giving place to enlightened re-education, all the bodies dealing with children in moral danger were only co-ordinated under the control of the Ministry of Health during the war, in 1942. In 1945, the Ministry of Justice took the important step of establishing a controlled education service with observation and rehabilitation centres. Minors can now be sentenced only in exceptional circumstances. Refresher Weeks organized under the auspices of the Ministry of Justice provide special courses for children's

¹ Maurice Rouvroy, *l'Établissement central d'observation médico-pédagogique et les institutions spéciales pour enfants anormaux à Moll-Huttes*. Merxplas-Colonies, Imprimerie administrative, sans date, pp. 3-10.

² "The War and Juvenile Delinquency". *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

judges, and increasing importance is attached to observation in special reception centres before judgment is given. Unfortunately, these centres can take in only 6,000 children a year, whereas 28,000 minors come before the courts. There are 55 centres (August 1948) in which children are placed before boarding out. There are still only 21,000 places in rehabilitation homes; this shows how great the needs are.

Boarding out with families was tried in France, but with little success owing to the system of mutual exploitation which tends to grow up between the child and his employer. Some private organizations, such as "La Grande Cordée" (The Rope), try to restore delinquent children to normal society directly, through work at a skilled craft or the varied activities of youth movements. Excellent results seem to be obtained by including a very small proportion of former delinquents in a group of normal people. Some of the State's rehabilitation Homes are really model centres, such as the Institutions at Brécourt for girls and the Théophile Roussel Institute at Montesson for boys. Lastly, we must mention the useful work of the Association of Welfare Workers in connection with the courts and the importance of youth movements in rehabilitation.

The present state of the question in Great Britain deserves special mention, for there the Government is reviewing the whole problem on a national scale, taking into consideration both the facts of education and social responsibilities. The aim of educational treatment is regarded as not merely the rehabilitation of offenders but also the prevention of delinquency.

This development was brought about by the study of the statistics for 1948. As we have seen, Great Britain had, like other countries, noted a steady increase in the number of offences by children during the war, reaching a peak in 1945. As in other countries also, reformatories were gradually being replaced by rehabilitation Homes since the passing of the Children and Young Persons Act in 1933, while the post-war reports of the Curtis Committee stressed the need for reforming the children's environment before they were restored to society and emphasized the educational value of the Homes for difficult children which had been established during the war. Following a fresh outbreak of delinquency in the first years after the war, the statistics for 1948 recorded a 25 per cent increase over 1947; the figure of 44,000 offenders in 1948 represented 2 per cent of all children in the age groups 12 to 13 and 14 to 15. The situation gave rise to representations from various private groups, and the need for investigating the underlying causes led the Home Secretary and the Minister of Education to hold a Conference on March 2, 1949.

Nothing could be more significant or show more clearly the exact nature of the problem than the remarks made by the Minister

of Education at that Conference. They may be summed up as follows— every child who commits an offence demonstrates the failure of the family, the school, and the whole social system, from the point of view of education. The essential task of the school is to train character, and great efforts are made to that end; but if those efforts are not made in close collaboration with the family, if the latter does not take a practical part in the work of the school, they will be vain. It is also important to secure the co-operation of the Welfare and Health services.

The inadequate attention devoted to the education of unfortunate and handicapped children as a social cause of delinquency should not be forgotten. The real problem, from the point of view of educational technique, is that of directing the child's energies towards healthy adventure by making activities which are socially desirable more attractive than those which are undesirable (propaganda in the press should work towards this end). Hero-worship is natural in children. If we can give them inspiring teachers who will encourage them to do fine things and copy great examples, we shall be on the way to a solution of the problem. Children need to feel that they are active members of the community and to play their part in the adult world. We must lose no opportunity of helping them to fulfil that ambition. For instance, why should not many of them be recruited to help in the arrangements for the Festival of Britain in 1951?

In conclusion, the Minister asked all the regional organizations to join in studying the problem of delinquency from this practical point of view.¹

Those attending the conference emphasized the need for the scientific investigation of the causes of social maladjustment at different ages, with special reference to handicapped children and out-of-school activities.² The essentially human character of these recommendations from the British Government makes them of universal interest. They may have useful repercussions in the various cultural zones.

The Scandinavian countries deserve special mention for their legislative measures for the treatment of delinquents. Not only have these countries already developed re-education on an extensive scale, but there no child under the age of 15 can be brought to court. The Child Welfare Committee makes no distinction between young delinquents and other children in need of

¹ "Juvenile delinquency. Conference called by the Home Secretary and Minister of Education", *School Government Chronicle* (London, March 1949), vol. CXLI., p. 311.

² "Notes and comments. Juvenile delinquency", *Journal of Education* (London, April 1949), vol. LXXXI., p. 189.

protection.¹ We can see how important in education is such a system, which frees the child from the psychological injury inflicted by a trial and from the complexes which may be developed in him by the knowledge that he is in a home for the treatment of delinquents.

The two Scandinavian countries affected by the war are thus dealing with their post-war problems quite naturally within this social set-up.

Denmark mentions the shortage of institutions for children between the ages of 6 and 14 and the equally serious shortage of observation centres. It is also regretted that the children are not always well received when they leave the rehabilitation homes, and stress is laid on the need for developing the "god-parents" system.²

Norway puts minors in the care of Boards of Guardians, which are controlled not by the Ministry of Justice but by the Ministry of Church and Education, and which arrange for educational treatment. Delinquents, "black sheep" and difficult children are all described as "neglected children". The re-education homes are mainly reserved for children of school age and serve as observation centres. Norway has seven homes for boys, with an enrolment of 199, and 5 for girls, with an enrolment of 156.³

Although Sweden is not one of the war-devastated countries, its organization is so advanced that it deserves mention as a model experiment. At the meeting of the General Council of the ICW (Stockholm, 1948) we were able to study the question on the spot and to visit several institutions. These were the "Youth Schools" (formerly called "Educational Homes") which care for difficult and delinquent children up to the age of 18. They are controlled by the Ministry of Public Assistance, which works in co-operation with the judicial authorities. Since the passing of legislation in 1946-47, the staff are specially trained in educational therapy, and arrangements are made for the protection and supervision of the children in the period immediately after they leave the institutions. Seven hundred boys and 406 girls are at present in these welfare schools. The children are distributed among the various schools according to their sex, age, stage of intellectual development and psychological characteristics.

"School Homes" are provided for the youngest children who need primary education. There are two types of class, according to whether the children are of normal intelligence or backward. Particularly sensitive children who need to be in small groups are assigned to little houses, each containing seven children. There is a separate home for specially gifted pupils, who may also attend a secondary school in the neighbourhood.

¹ "The War and Juvenile Delinquency", *op. cit.*, p. 109.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

³ "La guerre et la délinquance juvénile", *op. cit.*, p. 138.

There are vocational training schools for the older children. Those for boys are designed to accommodate about sixty pupils in two separate establishments. There is also a small house set aside for children who are about to be released. Most of these schools are intended for children of normal intelligence, but three of them are reserved for the less intelligent. One of the schools works with the vocational training school for young people of the district. In another, pupils are trained with others at the central technical school of the area. In the girls' schools, the syllabus is generally similar to that of the rural schools of domestic science. The advantages of such an educational system for the re-integration of the child into society can easily be imagined.

There are "special school homes" for pregnant girls and young mothers with their babies. They are, for the time being, attached to the vocational training schools for girls and their programmes are based substantially upon the same principles.

Particularly difficult cases are sent to "special schools" which are a combination of an educational home and a vocational training school. Examples are the schools at Lovsta and Skarvik.

It is interesting to see what are the essential principles on which this rehabilitation scheme is based. If a child is to be given suitable teaching and vocational training to fit him to earn an honourable living, work at the vocational training school (which cannot provide a complete education) is regarded primarily as a remedial factor in the combined medical, psychological and educational plan for general rehabilitation. This is a recognition of the psychological truth that children tend naturally to concentrate on work which requires action on their part. The schools whose doors stand open are in close contact with the life of the district; the organizers are anxious that the children should be able to go home, to be entrusted with responsible tasks and to enjoy freedom and privileges, not as a reward for good conduct, hard work and praiseworthy efforts, but to build up their own self-confidence.

In order to obtain yet better results from this scheme—already so encouraging—the latest parliamentary decree provides for intensified training of staff. For medical training, psychiatrists and doctors are to be recruited from among persons who have already adequate experience in the psychology of children and young people. The higher administrative staff (directors, heads of houses, assistants) must have had educational training and have some knowledge of the psychology of the subconscious. Refresher courses are being organized for staff already in service.

Special attention is likewise being paid to the possibilities of supervising and protecting children after release. Lack of such care is generally the reason for failures. A list of hostels throughout the country is being drawn up in co-operation with the Order of Good

Templars. Each of these hostels is designed to accommodate ten young men or girls, not more than half of whom are to be former inmates of the "Youth Welfare Schools". These homes will be run by married couples; the first of them has been opened at Malmö.

These, broadly speaking, are the different aspects of the problem of the education of delinquent children in post-war Europe. In this chapter, relying on a considerable body of evidence and on the opinions of competent experts, we have attempted to discover the psychological mechanism underlying the formation of anti-social attitudes, and the educational factors necessary to prevent and remedy them.

Apart from these technical considerations, we must also stress two aspects of the question to which we shall return later:

Firstly, the problem is arousing keen interest generally, at the international level as well as in certain individual countries, and a thorough investigation into the causes and prevention as well as rehabilitation is being carried out. We shall outline this work in the chapter devoted to the part played by various international organizations;

Secondly, the needs of the rehabilitation organization as at present conceived raise an urgent and extensive problem in the training of teachers. This we shall deal with in the chapter concerned with educational measures, in Part III of our Report.

MINOR FORMS OF ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR — DEFECTS OF CHARACTER AND MALADJUSTMENT

In comparison with the problem of the stateless child, the orphan, the illiterate, the mutilated or the delinquent, the problem of character defects and concealed maladjustments may seem very minor. It is not so, for two reasons—firstly, such defects may be the source of more serious social maladjustment, and, secondly, they are so frequent that, if statistics existed, they would probably give anyone unaware of the resources of education legitimate cause for anxiety. We must remember that, even in 1941, Professor Kanner¹ reported that, in the United States of America, the most serious trouble with between 50 and 70 per cent of the children brought to child specialists was some problem of behaviour. Since then, other surveys also made in the United States of America have shown how the war aggravated such irregularities, and at the same time the Army made equally interesting observations concerning

¹ Leo Kanner, "Psychotherapy of Children", *Virginia Medical Monthly* (Richmond, September 1941), vol. LXVIII, p. 499.

adults. If we consider these facts in relation to the complete social chaos in which children found themselves in the devastated countries, we shall easily understand how much they must have suffered.

The types of deficiency we considered earlier raise the problem of rehabilitation and special schools, but these lesser defects bring us to the problem of education as a whole, unless we wish special schools to outnumber the so-called ordinary schools. In practice, moreover, specialists have already gone far towards finding the solution, although the practical arrangements still have to be made.

This kind of social maladjustment may take two forms—active or passive.

Active forms of social maladjustment

Psychologists and educationalists giving a comprehensive picture of the defects of character found in the rising generation have to consider two categories of actively maladjusted children.

The first category at present consists of children between the ages of 4 and 11 who, for practical purposes, know nothing of pre-war life and for whom the years of disturbance represented normal life. These children have been living in divided families or with no families, in make-shift schools or with no schools, in a world more reminiscent of the struggle for life in a jungle than of a civilized world; they were too young to understand or even sense the psychological and spiritual forces in such a situation and so were adapted to conditions of life which seemed to be "real values" in the education they received in their earliest years. The "peaceful" world in which they found themselves suddenly placed, with entirely new obligations, is like a new country with a different climate, which creates too strong a tension in their young frames and personalities for them to evercome at once. Like the grown-up who, serving as an officer during the war, had to be given another post because the excessive responsibility he had to bear was endangering his health and balance, the child's habits are upset by the discipline of his new family and school environment and he shows signs of maladjustment. In some cases, these are faults of character and behaviour, when he fails to make the effort to adapt himself, which is beyond his capacity; in others, they are psycho-somatic disorders, when a desire to "be good" makes him thrust into the background the psychological problems which he has not been trained to solve.

This is not only true of children who have become adapted to the sufferings of exile, occupation, persecution and removal from their accustomed environment. The evidence from Malta,

for instance, which heroically withstood the assaults of war in the form of a merciless bombardment, is equally striking and confirms the observations above. The children knew nothing but air-raided shelters and destruction; they had no opportunity to acquire the idea of property, they did not live in their own houses, their toys were made from the wreckage they picked up between air-raided warnings on the ruins of what should have been their home. They had only one plan in life: "To run for the damp rock shelter underground when they heard the warning". The value and the usefulness of time meant nothing and the adult world, with its talk of danger, sickness and famine bored them.

It is thus understandable that, in a different way, the monotony of the traditional type of school class, with only the interest of abstract intellectual effort to help in making up for so much lost time in education, is an "unhealthy" environment for children of this generation. Vagrancy is far more attractive. It is "not natural" to have a home, to go to school, or to lead a peaceful life.

Many people feared that the war would accentuate the love of destruction in children, and when grown-ups talk of "destruction", it is a synonym for "aggressiveness". The real psychological fact is far simpler—children gain their education to the best of their ability by means of the activity they need. If an adult does not provide the child, as he should, with the necessary opportunities for experiences in which construction and destruction are harmoniously combined in a creative activity, the child becomes "difficult" and unfit for life in society.

The reports from all the people who took part in the Trogen Conference are full of examples interpreted in the light of this psychological truth. A further illustration is provided by the understanding wisdom of one Scandinavian town—having noticed that children were puncturing car tires to an alarming extent, the municipal authorities threw open the used car dump to the young people of the neighbourhood, under the guidance of a few monitors, so that play, which was to be organized on a large scale, should be "educational".

The problem of reintegration into the family is similar to that at school. The psychological difficulties of reuniting families after the war, with the unavoidable repercussions on children, are a matter of common knowledge on which we need not dwell except to find a solution for them. One child, when his father—a prisoner, from whom he had been separated for such a long time—returned, said scornfully to his mother: "Introduce your husband to me." The remark alone exposes an impossible situation. In such circumstances, if the family is reorganized at the cost of continual conflicts over authority, the child concerned is possibly less favourably situated than a waif who has found an understanding

environment in an adoptive family or a modern community organized on a family basis.

But the family also may be "retrained", and in Scotland, for example, we have an instance of guidance clinics for parents, at the Davidson Clinic, where astonishing results have been obtained. Moreover, family education is everywhere being organized. We cannot now say that the solution of the problem is lacking. It is the question of organization with which we have to cope.

There are different causes for the faults of character and behaviour apparent in the second category of children. In their earliest years they experienced a quiet, safe family life in a world which did not seem to threaten them with its dangers. Suddenly they were thrown defenceless into a swirling upheaval of society such as they could never have imagined in their dreams of adventure. They suffered and survived because most of them were able to bear heroically the burden which rested on their frail shoulders. But at the same time they dreamed of a world in which justice would rule and wrongs would be righted, which after the war would become the paradise of "child martyrs" and, at the liberation, their exacting and childish demands expressed the bitterness of their disappointment at the fresh sacrifices they had to make and the fresh difficulties to be overcome. In this case, we have to do with true aggressiveness, for the children are now adolescents and inclined to make a "reasoned judgment" of the trials to which they were unfairly subjected by the adult world. All forms of authority seem to them to be bad, because all the crimes they witnessed were done under its cloak. They will not accept teachers whose "experience of life" is not at least equal to their own, and they are not impressed by "white hairs" but by the psychological and spiritual worth of their teachers. Their confidence in the world's good faith has been shaken.¹ It is understandable that the most aggressive of them should dream of revenge and that, in any case, there should remain a hidden conflict with the adult generation at an age at which such a conflict is natural in ordinary circumstances as the children develop emotionally.

In this case, educational treatment includes one essential and very special factor, the restoration of mutual confidence. In practice it has been found, however, that the grown-up has to make the first advances (that is quite natural, as he is the teacher). If he shows his trust in a young adolescent by setting him tasks of which his war-time experience has proved him capable, and does it with real affection and understanding, the game is almost won. Every instance of correct re-education of delinquent children is a proof of

¹ Volkov, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

this. However, the problem is more complicated than for young children, who are entirely and exclusively taken up with the physical activity. It is the emotional motive for action which is important to the adolescent, and adults must be careful not to offer this fresh enthusiasm sentimental motives, however excellent, (self-dedication, devotion to a cause), which are bound up with a restrictive and intolerant ideology which may give rise to conflict between grown-ups. We shall deal briefly with this question in our special study of prejudice. "We feel we are so strong that sometimes we are afraid of what we might do," some of these young adolescents say.¹ Grown-ups must give this youthful strength an opportunity for employment such as it had during the dreadful years of war, but this time it must be used with due nobility, in a world where understanding and respect for all must no longer be opposed to the interests of the individual. We have seen the most typical examples of such reintegration of adolescents into society in children's communities, which are building, decorating and organizing their surroundings themselves, with the watchful co-operation of teachers or elders who help and inspire them but never seek to rule them by force. The wise application of the principles of "self-government" gives the best results.

A child who does not live in a community should be able to find such an opportunity for activity and normal social experience in youth movements, which provide essentially that "school of life" which adolescents need. Such movements played a most important part in education in the war-devastated countries, even when they existed only underground. We shall see that the part they played is an essential element in a complete education. At that age, well-organized vocational guidance, carefully interpreted, is an important factor in rehabilitation and reintegration into society; such guidance should take account of the development of aptitudes, the satisfaction of needs and the practical application to earning a living.

Passive forms of social maladjustment, psychological apathy

Apart from the phenomena mentioned above, which are found at home as well as at school and are a source of difficulty or disturbance in communal life, observers have also drawn attention to entirely different reactions—those of children who are "good" but apathetic and whose passive attitude becomes a less obvious but no less real form of social maladjustment. This type of child is well known in communities of war-handicapped children. His passiveness may be due either to fear of reprisals from those around him

¹ Chesters, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

or to an inferiority complex, or to some real form of psychological impotence and ankylosis resulting from a state of daze and indifference entailed by prolonged inertia. This attitude is less common than those mentioned above, but it can be systematically diagnosed after investigation and analysis. A Regional Director of Education in one of the devastated countries we visited had undertaken an examination of young adolescents, and himself mentioned to us that "indifference to life" which was apparent in some of the pupils. They were very obedient and well-disciplined children; they avoided taking part in youth movements and were entirely lacking in initiative; they were obviously afraid of communal activity and yet in other respects they were very hard working. Cases were particularly often found among children belonging to depressed and nervous families. In this connection we were shown a typical child's drawing: a little girl of nine had drawn a picture of herself as wolf-cub crouching still at the foot of a leafless tree in the midst of a desolate landscape; the tree represented her mother, who provided her with no stimulus and was herself rigid, undynamic and joyless. Such children often refuse to do free drawings; they hide their hearts from grown-ups or else they "don't know how" (as they say). It is cheering to see how quickly a wise teacher trained in the use of the new methods can revive the initiative of such children, who at last realize happily that they also "can have ideas".

The teacher knows that he has to fulfil this task of rehabilitation. One expert told us that there are millions of people who are not born mental defectives but become so owing to a faulty education.¹ Although they are not obviously dangerous, such forms of "passive social maladjustment" do involve risk for society; not only will such people be unable to play their part in the progress of mankind, when they might have done so if they had been trained to use their faculties independently, but they may one day follow a dangerous leader because he forces on them either by strength or by cunning arguments which they are unable to analyse. The sum total of all this inertia in individuals may one day, by force of circumstance, temporarily and unintentionally disturb the equilibrium of a civilization.

Furthermore, certain forms of social maladjustment which seem to be passive, in reality conceal an "escapism" which takes the place of "defiant revolt" in individuals who are sufficiently independent to refuse to accept a given situation, in their inmost hearts, but are too weak to do anything about it in society. Such young people then take refuge in a world of thought and feeling, in which they are active in the abstract, in "a fictitious life on the fringes of reality", and represent potential intellectual forces which might be converted

¹ "The War and Juvenile Delinquency", *op. cit.*, p. 122.

and used for the good of society if the education given them were primarily designed to reintegrate them into society. Unless this is done, these young people constitute a current of thought apart from the main stream of society, activated by emotion and discontent, which may one day, unless it is harnessed, give assistance to anti-social movements. An interesting study on this question was submitted, in connection with the social problem with which German youth confronts the world, at the International Congress on Mental Health held in London in 1948.¹

¹ International Congress on Mental Health, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE WAR ON CHILDREN'S IDEOLOGIES

As war always, to some extent, implies an ideology, it gives to trends of ideas and certain kinds of conviction the force and value of a "psychological absolute", and enables them to influence young people who are not sufficiently mature to analyse them objectively. Such an ideology may relate to the nation, the race or the party. That does not mean that an individual cannot with honour be a citizen of a country, a representative of a race or a member of a party; all these groups play their part in the education of a human being, but the individual has not the right to make his group universally applicable and to impose it on others by force. Adults may "contaminate" children by giving them an exclusive and intolerant picture of the diversity of a world whose very richness consists in the variety of cultures and should be essentially a school of understanding. Children accept the adult's ideology until they too are old enough to experiment with the main forms of social life. In some cases, a child accepts the ideology of the adult with whom his emotional links are strongest and whom he trusts entirely; in others, he accepts a group's ideology, which enlists him by its sentimental appeal. All youth leaders are familiar with this psychological mechanism. It is this which helps teachers to understand the reasons underlying certain attitudes during the war and to find solutions in education.

Collaboration was one of the problems widely encountered in certain occupied countries and which still demand an educational solution for adolescents. In Belgium and the Netherlands we were able to study typical cases.

In Belgium, the Youth Movements instituted by the collaborating parties gave rise to painful episodes in the psychological history of adolescents; Judge William Hanssens emphasized the seriousness of such incidents in one of his court-martial indictments. Such children were pawns in the game or the victims of political parties which, to gain control of them, did not hesitate to cover lies and calumny with a veneer of fine thoughts, pure aspirations, and generous vows in a Machiavellian conglomeration of the best and the worst. The young people were at the age "where life opens out to the individual with infinite promise and hope, the age of the purest

exaltation and the darkest despair, the age at which the human being... untaught by experience and the philosophy and comfort it brings, has no alternative to revolt or downfall, unless he recognizes the justice of the punishment he suffers. Faced with such tragedies, we need other means than those at present supplied by the law, we need educational and not merely punitive measures; we wish to heal and not to punish."

During the occupation of the Netherlands, 9,750 minors under the age of 18 were guilty of political offences. An investigation carried out on 737 of them showed that 61 per cent belonged to National Socialist families and 39 per cent to loyal families. The first group comes under the heading of contamination of children by parents.

So far as the second group is concerned, the investigation showed that 78 per cent of the families provided an unsatisfactory environment for the child and that the latter had the same reasons to escape as the offender against the common law. In such circumstances, it is easy to find the psychological motive for his joining the Nazi party; indeed the latter presented its ideology in a form which was most attractive to young people, by emphasizing the adventurous life, the sporting outlook, the spirit of comradeship, and by holding out the glittering opportunity of belonging to a picked few. However, when the children were questioned, it appeared, as might have been expected, that the adolescent's choice was determined by motives which had nothing to do with the ideology itself: 7 per cent at the most seem to have adopted the ideology consciously; so far as the others are concerned, they are seen to have no political views of their own and have only accepted, without assimilating them, the ideas put before them. Although they thus deny their acceptance of the Nazi ideology, there is still the danger that this period may remain in their memory as one of glory, as experts so rightly say.¹ Hence the need for rehabilitation, which should include a stimulus with great emotional power so that these young people are not left forever unfit for society. This is even more the chief problem with regard to young Germans.

In practice, 2,000 of these young political offenders in the Netherlands have been sent to camps, and they go to work outside the camps, with a view to their rehabilitation; 5,000 have been released conditionally. The proportion of those who have to be sent back to the camps is very low, even for a town like Amsterdam (5 per cent for boys). The case of this large town is encouraging and proves that there are great possibilities of rehabilitation through participation in normal life. The future of young people who are wanting

¹ "The War and Juvenile Delinquency", *op. cit.*, report by Mr. Mulock-Houwer, p. 87.

in civic virtues depends on co-ordination between the bodies dealing with child welfare and the Young People's Branch of the Institute for the Supervision of Political Offenders. These departments consider that work for the reconstruction of the country in a good patriotic spirit is likely to produce the best results. But those results also depend on the fate of these young people's parents, who are often released in large numbers without any arrangements for restoring them to the normal community life.¹

This raises the psychological problem of collaborators' children, who run the risk of being branded by society and, if they are devoted to their families, may suffer most painful emotional conflicts.

During the occupation, some children were already reacting violently against their parents' ideas and yet felt it was their duty to defend them against the hostility by which they were surrounded. For instance, there was a child at a French school whose father came to visit him in soldier's uniform. After a fight with other school children who had insulted his father, the child went and poured out his sorrow and confusion to the head of the school, saying: "My father is working for them."² Some adolescents, wishing to make amends, took part in the work of the underground movement; but those who could not give personal evidence of their attitude were left, at the Liberation, in danger of general contempt, which would injure their self-respect and interfere with their reintegration into society. In order not to increase this risk, such children were not, in many cases, isolated in special institutions. Denmark mentions this especially.³ What is important, in fact, from the point of view of education, is that the child should never be made to feel "different" from others (with the disparaging meaning of not belonging).

Some resistance organizations were fully aware of the educational value of this psychological fact. In Italy, the children of Resistance workers and of Fascists were grouped together for educational purposes in children's communities. It was noted with pleasant surprise that the fact that their parents had belonged to a particular group meant nothing to the children (aged about 9 to 13), and that they all felt themselves to be united in rebellion against grown-ups. There was no conflict between them because of the ideological views of their families, and the education of all made substantial progress as soon as new educational methods were applied.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*

² Marcus-Jeisler, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

³ "The War and Juvenile Delinquency", *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁴ *The Boarding Schools of the New Italy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 10.

When a child's relations with his family are still normal, it is extremely important that the family should itself be rehabilitated and restored to society. In this connection, a tribute may be paid to the magnificent experiment in the re-education of unsatisfactory citizens which is being carried out in Belgium. This war-time problem is extremely urgent as there are 91,000 people sentenced for or accused of political offences. Recognizing the principle that the results of imprisonment, from the point of view of society, are the opposite of those desired, the Minister of Justice instituted, in November 1946, the Organization for the Rehabilitation of Politically Unsatisfactory Citizens (l'Œuvre de Rééducation des Inciviques), the principle of which was that sentence should not mean final degradation. Work and confidence to secure redemption are the two great educational principles followed by the Organization. A branch dealing with re-education, reclassification and after-care applies them in practice. The prisoners choose their own leaders from among themselves, and we were able to appreciate for ourselves the human quality behind an artistic programme we had the opportunity of seeing in the prison. There were among these men fathers of families as well as people who had been adolescents during the occupation. We could see in their eyes the joy of having recovered their self-respect so that they could once more serve their country and humanity; their own psychological problem was apparently solved but that of their families and their social environment still remained to be settled. Some of them could not go home and all had reason to fear that, on their release, they would meet hostility among people who had not understood their inner change. Former Resistance workers are still helping them to overcome the obstinate ill-feeling of the outside world and are appealing to the nation to receive these men on their return without mental reservations. We must not, however, shut our eyes to the fact that an enormous problem of national education is involved if a whole country is to agree to take part in such a task.

The War and International Understanding

In addition to the problem of political ideologies to which collaboration gave rise, aggressive chauvinism, which is naturally intensified by war, was also likely to exert a harmful influence on children. In the balance of psychological losses and gains in the post-war period, however, international understanding does not apparently figure on the debit side, but rather the reverse. That is the evidence of the general report on the 1947 session of the International Conference of Social Service.¹ It is understandable indeed that, by break-

¹ Conférences internationales du Service social, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

ing indiscriminately a number of the links between children and adults (good as well as bad), the war freed young people from the ascendancy of a number of preconceived ideas.

The Director of one children's community in Italy showed us with what ideological innocence a child had spoken of the American and the German soldier in the story of his movements; only one difference had struck him: "The Americans' bread was whiter than the Germans".¹ Similarly, at the Pestalozzi Children's Village at Trogen, Polish children showed aggressive ill-feeling towards German children whose fathers had killed their own, only during the first few weeks. Games and joint activities very soon aroused and fortified a spirit of friendship which leaves no room for antagonistic feelings.

In other communities, such as the Children's Republic of Moulin-Vieux, where the children have no opportunity for such experiences on the spot, we find them actively interested in international co-operation among children, exchanging school materials, lovingly prepared by themselves, with friends at a distance, and arranging an international camp to broaden the experience of both sides.

International understanding is not taught, it is lived; that is particularly true among children. All the voluntary organizations have grasped this and are endeavouring to increase the number of exchanges during Holidays as well as in school time. That is the idea underlying Professor Geheb's "school for humanity" in Switzerland, which is operating in a very simple setting and in spite of great material shortcomings. Children and teachers of all ages and every nationality live there in close contact with nature, doing together all the work of the house, all preparing for the school examinations of their own country and thoroughly studying their own syllabuses and their own culture while, at the same time, experiencing international life marked by generosity and interchange of lasting value.

So fine and complex a work of education is possible after the war precisely because the failure of a number of hard and narrow ideologies arouses the children's interest in a new and more universal way of life. It is important that they should experience that universality emotionally, not only by contact with their contemporaries but by communion with the great men of every age and every nation through the works they have left behind them. If their education is properly carried out, the more specifically intellectual interests of later years will be founded on a firm basis of the universal.

But we must act quickly if we are to take advantage of the special opportunities of the post-war period, for, if the international

¹ *The Boarding Schools of the New Italy*, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

aspirations of young people, following on the collapse of so many of the mental strongholds of adults, do not find satisfaction in a healthy and unrestricted universality, they may once more seek fulfilment in the single limited field of restrictive groups and yet again endanger the world's equilibrium. Moreover, these post-war children, who may show a commendable inclination towards international understanding are, as we know, seriously injured psychologically; only by treating their whole being, leaving no place for repression or bitterness, can we be sure that we have really accomplished the work of education.

Several international meetings have already considered the question and have passed resolutions or recommendations on the subject. Among those which have been held under Unesco's auspices we may mention the Prague Seminar on childhood education for a world society, at which a special group studied this problem in relation to war-handicapped children; the Trogen Conference, at which the problem was considered specially from the point of view of children's communities; and lastly, the Eleventh International Conference on Public Education, convened jointly by Unesco and the International Bureau of Education, which devoted a special section of its recommendations to the development of international understanding among young people.

Racial prejudice during the war

Racial persecution, the horrors of which were added to those of war, cruelly affected the development of a child's personality even when it did not cost him his life. Hundreds of thousands of children were hunted down, taken away from their families, and were deported or sent to concentration camps on "racial charges". Such events have left deep marks on those who survived, although the mental injuries are not always immediately apparent. Even now, teachers must expect abnormal signs of depression and inferiority complexes, offset by outbursts of complaint and demands, because the suffering has not yet been absorbed normally into the rebuilding of the personality; such scars may hinder the free development of the individual and his social conscience.

Even those of the children who were saved from brutality have not been spared psychological injury; they were suddenly compelled to "change personality" by those who had resolved to save them; we can see the stupefaction and incomprehension of children between the ages of four and nine at the change of identity, which exacerbated the feeling of family disruption. Some young children finally forgot their proper names,¹ and other problems

¹ Quelques données sur le problème des enfants et adolescents juifs de Belgique pendant l'occupation allemande et après la libération, op. cit., p. 8.

are still arising when the formalities of adoption are reviewed, as we saw in the case of the Netherlands.

The specialists who, since the Liberation, have been following the psychological development of all such children, say that "rehabilitation must be regarded as a long process of mental recovery. It demands conditions for mental health which must be scrupulously observed".¹ Beneath the outward behaviour of these children lies a layer of suppressed emotion which is as yet not analysed. By means of his close ties with the child, the teacher must help him to make that analysis and to give that emotion outward expression. Free drawings show how intense it may be. We were struck, when examining these drawings, by the sense of spiritual grandeur which the scenes of persecution he had witnessed at a concentration camp had awakened in a child of 13; when he was asked to depict the most important happening in his life, he drew a camp scene, framed in a bleeding heart torn by barbed wire; in one corner of the drawing, the child on his pallet was watching the execution of a grown-up. The German soldier, aiming his gun, on one knee, was drawn very small; the victim, on the other hand, three times his size, was standing with breast bared, showing the yellow star, whose beams shone through all the air around. It is easy to understand how scenes and memories of such painful intensity, associated with racial prejudice, may affect the emotional development of a child.

To help such children recover a calm and undisturbed emotional life, we have to stir in them an inspiration strong enough to concentrate their emotional interest upon some activity they have chosen—sport, craft or, above all, art; the last form of activity makes possible intense experience, and is analysed and perfected in exercises which lead to mastery of the form of expression. We must also allow such adolescents to become attached to the places where they live and the people around them, so that they may feel fundamentally "one of them" and that there may be no room left for that feeling of being "different" in the bad sense, and the grave disorders it is liable to entail. In many cases, when they have lost their parents, children have shown themselves much more attached to their family and religious traditions and have given evidence of far greater communal feeling in relation to traditional groups; we have seen how this powerful force has operated in certain children's communities. In this, as in the idea of the native land, it is important, in re-education, that the child's legitimate interest in his own group should not become a source of conflict with other groups and should not hamper his aspiration towards a wider world; such a world can and must bring all groups together in a single

¹ E. Jouhy, "Le problème pédagogique des jeunes de Buchenwald", *Les Enfants de Buchenwald*. Genève. Union OSF, 1946, p. 65.

"unity" which must not be confused with "uniformity". It is the business of the teachers to inculcate constantly, and to make possible, such a universal outlook which may include all differences.

The foregoing examples give a sufficient indication of the way in which the educational mistakes of the adult generation may cause children to develop prejudice. Prejudice is the result of a mistake in education, either by awakening in the child some emotion associated with an aggressive attitude or by putting some possibly dangerous idea before him in a favourable light. It is therefore principally on education that we must rely to prevent or, if it is already in existence, to remove prejudice as an obstacle to the development of the human conscience, an obstacle to the child's conscience which becomes an obstacle to human progress in the adult, and subjects social harmony to a constant and appalling risk.

CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis of the psychological problems in various realms which we have, for reasons of statistical convenience, considered one by one, shows how artificial it is, in reality, to isolate "social cases" which only charitable organizations dealing with the question are justified in classifying and treating separately. When we consider the child as a real living individuality, in our desire to discover how disturbances in his development have been brought about and what educational treatment is necessary, the problem of all war-handicapped children becomes, we are convinced, a single whole.

The war merely made more general the constant educational problem of the relationship between the child and his environment. Its harmful effects were in bringing about a profound change in the social relationships on which the child's development is founded, even destroying those very relationships which would have fostered his harmonious development. Also, the war showed children an adult generation which, under those exceptional circumstances, was temporarily released from the restrictions of the most elementary human morality. On the other hand, in some instances, the war destroyed bonds which were injuring the child by restricting his independence or limiting his field of vision and experience. It brought to light the sufferings of children torn from their normal educational environment but it also revealed of what children are capable when they are faced with certain problems requiring solution, and how they solve them with the ready understanding of their age.

Situations arising from the war provided extensive confirmation of the most recent discoveries of child psychology, psychiatry, psycho-analysis, psycho-somatic medicine and modern education, i.e. the fundamental unity of the human being, as regards both the constituent factors and the successive stages of his development. In every situation involving a human being, at any age, there is a physiological, an emotional and an intellectual aspect; an individual consciousness, an ego is called upon to combine those different elements in a harmonious synthesis.

An adult, if he has been properly educated and is sufficiently mature, should be able to effect such a combination himself, in whatever situation he may be placed; but a child can achieve a

balance only in close association with the adult who is educating him. The ego practices by stages, firstly, analysing and mastering its organic environment, secondly, co-ordinating its opportunities for action; then controlling its emotional reactions; making abstract judgments, and finally grasping the larger forms of social life. A child can manage without an adult only when he meets situations requiring the use of a faculty he has already developed. As regards the aspects of life with which he is not yet fitted to experiment, he relies entirely on the adult and can preserve a perfect balance only if he is surrounded by the sense of security, the wisdom and love which the person bringing him up should give him.

Until the end of adolescence, which with a proper education should help him to cope with emotional problems, a child can only be needlessly injured by emotional suffering. In earlier stages of development, the educator provides the psychological protection the child requires, by acting as a shield between his sensitive youth and the brusque contact of the external environment providing his eager interest with the requisite opportunities for experience, and giving him constant assurance of that protective affection on which the young personality relies in its gradual progress towards complete independence. The educator allows such independence to grow in the sense of human dignity conferred by the free exercise of an active intelligence entirely devoted to overcoming difficulties and striving towards creative activities.

Whatever forms his sufferings have taken, the war-handicapped child has been deprived of various factors necessary for his normal growth. Firstly, he has lost the sense of security and the protective affection of grown-ups, and emotional shocks have disordered his young personality when it was too frail to withstand them. Secondly, he has had no opportunity to carry out the educational experiments appropriate to his age, which would have helped to establish his self-respect; and his ego, being reduced to impotence, has suffered damage to its nobler human qualities. In some cases, in an overriding desire for independence or simply from harsh necessity, the child has tried to cope with situations beyond his years, but in so sharp and premature a burst of energy that his development has been rapid but defective, and has been seriously warped.

All the psychological abnormalities, varying with temperament and circumstances, which we have found in the children studied, are due to this violation of the great rules of education. In some cases these abnormalities take the form of an inhibition of the ego and emotional repression which brings with it the worst forms of psychosomatic disorder, and in others, that of an obvious or concealed anti-social attitude.

Adolescents are essentially interested in emotional situations and,

as we have seen, were tempted to serve the barbarous ideologies, which, being intellectually immature, they were unable to judge in their true light. In other cases, even when they were "fighting on the right side", they found difficulty in discriminating between methods which were temporarily justified by war and the peace-time morality which was to follow. A transference of interest in an atmosphere of universal understanding is now necessary if this enthusiasm is not to be embodied in an anti-social ideology.

As we have seen, the tragedy of the war, by bringing about a more thorough study of the problem of education, has faced us with enigmas, but it has also helped us to solve them. It has taught us so much that, from the point of view of education, it has not only made it necessary for us to rebuild what it has destroyed, but has also given us an opportunity of moving on from the earlier stage of teaching to penetrate more carefully into that supremely human science—education. Such an advance is the more feasible, because, as we have seen in the course of this report, there are constructive factors in the mentality of these young people of the post-war world which are essentially propitious for re-education and of which the teacher must take full advantage.

With those who know how to inspire them, these children are not unfitted to take part in the reconstruction of the world, but rather the reverse; teachers have already proved this with most encouraging results. As one expert remarked at the Trogen Conference, "The quality of sentiment in the children in general is worth dwelling on"; the hardships of their past life have not left them bereft of kindness and courtesy. Suffering has not always hardened them; it has also developed in them a tendency to love and protect their friends. And in fact, if they have been corrupted, they know it and suffer because of it.

A survey carried out by the Warsaw Institute of Mental Health after the Liberation,¹ dealing with 6,000 children, provided an interesting picture of their mentality. It proved that adolescents were capable of lamenting the most painful consequences of the war for humanity, such as the corruption of society and young people, the destruction of culture and the loss of intellectuals, the effect on education and, above all, the abasement of human dignity. It proved that, in many cases, children had, within themselves, renewed links with their families which were apparently broken; and that young people were still seeking an ideal and were anxious to serve society in education, cultural reconstruction and the relief of misery. Even when altruism was not among the children's first concerns, they set themselves, in most cases, a positive aim in existence, such as continuing their studies, founding a family, or

¹ Mme Grzywak-Kaczynska, *op. cit.*, p. 10-16.

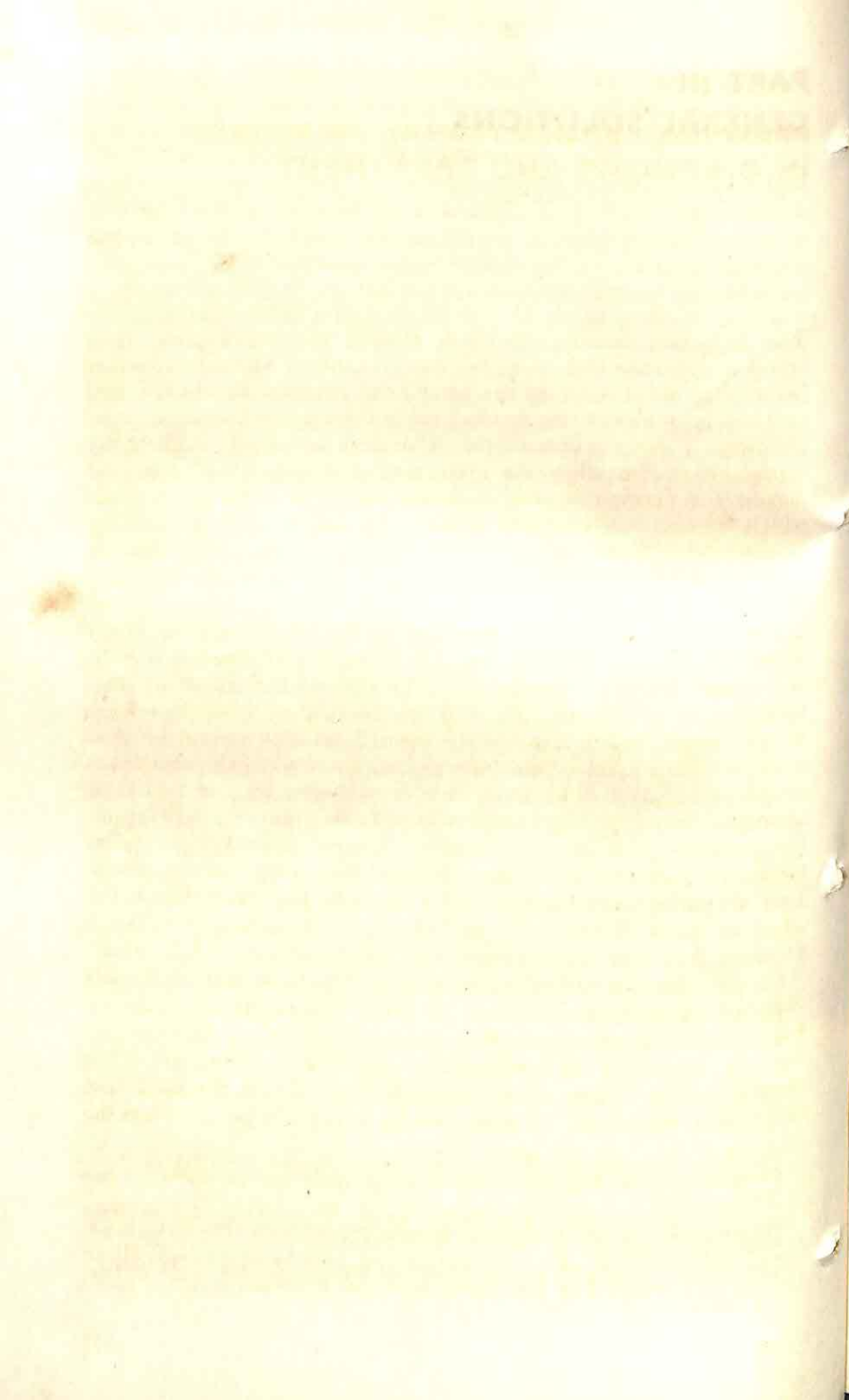
travelling. In only 3 per cent of the cases, did these children reveal an anti-social attitude in a desire for conquest, revenge or gain.

When we think of the maturity, strength and initiative of most of these young people, we understand why teachers appeal to that eager energy to play its part in the work of reconstruction. These children need an opportunity to investigate ideas and put them into practice in life; they have an exceptional need for realities, common sense and inventiveness beyond their years. These factors are important at the present turning-point of civilization, and these are precisely the qualities to help them—not to be reabsorbed into a mediocre world, but to assist in the progress of civilization. A very clear understanding of this fact is expressed in one of the recommendations of the Eleventh International Conference on Public Education, suggesting "that the various forms of social life being organized at different stages of study should be such as to interest young people in the problems of the world of tomorrow".¹

¹ "Recommendation No. 24 concerning the Development of International Understanding among Young People and Teaching about International Organizations", *XIth International Conference on Public Education, Proceedings and Recommendations*. Paris, Unesco; Geneva, International Bureau of Education, 1948. (Unesco/BIE/107, 1948), pp. 104-106.

PART III

GENERAL SOLUTIONS



PRINCIPAL EDUCATIONAL MEASURES IN DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT

The foregoing descriptions show clearly, in our opinion, that, however valuable they may be, no amount of special measures (which can never meet all the needs) can provide a complete and satisfactory solution to the educational problems of war-handicapped children. A general educational scheme is necessary, sufficiently comprehensive to allow the systematic detection of all types of defects and every individual difficulty, using educational methods which are sufficiently vital to develop the child's whole personality in a normal way, and of sufficiently wide application for education to be extended beyond the school itself, so that the whole of society takes part in the task.

The experts at the first meeting of the "International Study Weeks for Child Victims of the War" (SEPEG) put forward specific recommendations on this point. "The care of the minds of war-handicapped children is, first and foremost, a problem for educationists in the widest sense of the term. Education cannot be confined to educational establishments... Education takes precedence over teaching..."¹ If we need further evidence, we can find it in abundance in every one of the war-devastated countries, in Belgium, for instance— "When we consider all these problems carefully, we see that the solution of them is principally a question of education, scientific education based on a reasoned understanding of the cases to be dealt with..."² In France, "The education of such children must not be confused with mere teaching."³ In Italy, "The solution... is difficult... especially when those responsible for their education lack confidence or prove incompetent to educate the children in accordance with the standards of psychology and modern education".⁴ Similarly, at the Prague Seminar, Ruth Benedict said: "Those of us who are concerned with the education of children must look upon our task as something greater than the

¹ Semaines internationales d'Études pour l'Enfance victime de la Guerre (SEPEG), *Pro juventute mundi*. Proposition N° 9 adopted in plenary session. Zurich, 22 September 1945, p. 7.

² Conférences internationales du Service social : Comité belge, *Les problèmes psychologiques posés par la guerre en Belgique*. Par Adèle de Loreux. La Haye, September 1947, p. 2.

³ G. Heuyer, "Stigmates psychologiques des enfants victimes de la guerre", *Revue internationale de l'enfant* (Genève 1946), vol. X, nos 4-6, p. 10.

⁴ N. Perroti, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

mere problem of the revision of syllabuses." We could give many more instances; if there is good reason for using such measures in dealing with any children, they are particularly imperative in the case of war-handicapped children.

If this type of education required by war-handicapped children—comprehensive and at the same time adapted to the needs of the individual—is to be successful, it involves a whole series of different stages and auxiliary measures. Here we present only a broad outline; but we would point out that they are the same for all categories of children in need of rehabilitation treatment.

THE STUDY OF THE CHILD

Child Guidance Centres for examination, observation and treatment

The first such stage, without which there can be no true re-education, is the study of the child, the starting point for any lasting medical, psychological and educational assistance. In this respect also the SEPEG recommendations were quite specific, and we have seen, in the course of the present report, the efforts which Governments and charitable organizations are already making to provide for such observation, and what excellent results are achieved whenever it is possible to carry it out.

The full value of such educational-psychological treatment can only be derived by a complete team of workers. The team should include a specialist in children's diseases, a child psychiatrist, a psychologist, a teacher and one or more welfare workers. It is generally recognized that a child's personality is an indissoluble unity and that any abnormality, even if apparently localized, causes suffering—physical, psychological, spiritual—throughout his being. A full and specialized analysis is therefore necessary at the same time as a synthesis of the problem. In fact, some of the specialized courses run by SEPEG stress the necessity of having a team such as we have described, and the centres which are being opened everywhere tend also to be organized on this pattern.

In order to meet all the needs, it should be possible for this examination of the children to be carried out either through consultations for "out-patients" (child guidance consultations) or in observation centres with boarding accommodation which can take in children for a few weeks or even a few months for more thorough study. We know that the second method is essential when dealing with waifs, pre-delinquents or difficult children, who cannot usefully be examined while they are living in their normal environment. Such observation centres should, therefore, include an experimental school, in which the educational methods most effective for a particular child may be tried out.

The purpose of such consultations or observation over a period is, firstly, to furnish as full a diagnosis as possible; secondly, to select the educational method to be used and the institution in which the child should be placed; and lastly, to verify at intervals, by means of checks at the Centre and also through welfare workers both at school and at home, that the result of the treatment is satisfactory and that it is not necessary to apply any new measures. In many cases, too, treatment takes the form only of regular consultations at the Centre, designed not only to diagnose but also to provide treatment (in games and psychological play-acting). In this connection, the first efforts at treatment by educational psychology (child guidance clinics), which were begun in the United States of America fifty years ago, are being further developed every day and are now active in many countries.

In the course of our missions in the areas we studied in this first year of our work, we found that no country affected by the war was without provision for some such child guidance treatment, at least on a small scale. Even those which seem to be quite unprovided, for practical reasons, have specialists or well-informed people familiar with the question who recognize how justified and necessary such treatment is and hope to make provision for it as soon as possible. In Greece, for example, the difficulties of the times, the overcrowding of institutions for children resulting from security measures, and the lack of specialized teachers, make it almost impossible at present to provide general treatment, which could not in any case be followed up in the necessary way in special schools. Two experimental schools are, however, dealing with the matter at Athens University.¹ In Malta, where there is such a school providing what is called "controlled education", the competent authorities deplore the fact that it is impossible to arrange for observation by qualified teams of workers; as there are so few specialists, children who cannot be tested receive empirical educational treatment which is indeed very effective, but help from abroad for training technical experts is none the less urgently necessary. In Italy, where such treatment is mainly organized by private bodies, we were struck by the amount of work being done. In some cases, in a town like Milan, a group of experts, working in co-operation with the Educational Centre, and with the assistance of the Municipality, is instituting consultations and carrying out wide propaganda; in others, Centres such as the Mental Control College at Rome are training specialists; and, recently, a National Society for the medical, psychological and educational treatment of handicapped children has been established and is endeavouring to organize

¹ *School Psychologists*, a study submitted to the XIth International Conference on Public Education. Paris, Unesco; Geneva, International Bureau of Education, 1948. (Unesco/BIE/105, 1948), p. 65.

the work for the country as a whole, co-operating as far as possible with other countries also.

In view of the very wide conception of education which now obtains, it should be possible for children of all ages to benefit from such treatment, whatever their circumstances, at school and at home. This idea has led to the development of two distinct movements which are sometimes combined in a single institution for psychological treatment in and out of school. The necessity of treatment in school is so universally recognized that it was the subject of a special recommendation at the Eleventh International Conference on Public Education. Having formally recognized that education can be effective only if it is adapted to the child's mental characteristics, the Conference recommended that school psychology services should be developed.

Moreover, the International Bureau of Education, having carried out a systematic survey, gave an account of the various measures concerning school psychologists taken in different countries.¹

The purpose of psychological treatment at school is not only to discover the children's aptitudes (from the backward to the higher-than-average intelligence) and difficulties of character, but also to permit educational and vocational guidance. The psychologists are in some cases attached to the schools and in others form a team at a Consultation Centre which may or may not be attached to the school.

In France, for instance, there is a typical Child Guidance Clinic. It is that at the Lycée Claude Bernard in Paris, which was opened in 1946 and is a very comprehensive model experiment, being equipped for emotional re-education and the treatment of defects of character, as well as for the supervision of the adjustment class. This Centre has already proved what valuable assistance such a clinic can provide, not only to enable a normal personality to develop to the full, but also to re-adapt children whose mental standard was far higher than that of other children of their age, but who, nevertheless, did not do well at school.

In Denmark, we were also struck by the size of the school psychology clinic in Copenhagen; it at present includes a Director, thirteen psychologists and two assistants. There is a residential observation centre attached to this clinic, at which children can be studied for two months; the results of the experimental teaching in this "pilot school" are so encouraging that the Director regretted that the children left after such a short time. The development of the children's free drawings which could be seen in their files enabled us to judge how effective the methods used were.

On the other hand, psychological treatment outside the school is

¹ *Ibid.*, 105 pp.

no less essential. It may also provide for consultations for school children and its importance in comparison with organizations attached to the schools varies in different countries or even in different districts. In any case, the name of the system by which such educational treatment is given matters little. What the children need, as we have said, is permanent supervision. So far, although such centres sometimes duplicate the school clinics' work in the treatment of children in the intermediate age groups, they supplement it in other respects, for certain centres outside the schools, which are very often designed to provide mental health care from birth onwards, examine infants and children below school age, while others continue their examinations after children have left school, in the form of vocational guidance.

A typical experiment on a large scale, dealing with very young children, is being carried out in the United Kingdom in West Sussex. This Centre is particularly interesting, as it looks after all the 20,000 children in one community and does preventive as well as remedial work (like that of Dr. C. Anderson Aldrich at Rochester, in the United States).¹ Its Educational Psychology Committee consists of representatives of the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education and the Home Office. The consultations are carried on in three separate Centres, where stress is laid upon the value of combining research and clinical work.

Brambling House Centre, to which we have already referred in connection with its open-air school, is interesting as an example of multi-purpose organization; it has a consultation service for diagnosis and treatment open to all, closely connected with its school and residential centre but independent of them. The residential centre makes observations over a long period, and the school provides individual education adapted to the special cases. This plan offers many advantages and could probably be usefully carried out on a larger scale.

In most countries, there are always, in addition to those in the centres specifically for school work, consultation services connected with hospitals or with Institutes of Mental Hygiene or attached to other University bodies.

Scientific research

So far we have described the various Centres with respect to clinical consultation service for children. Most of them are also true research centres, whose value for science is as great as their practical value.

¹ C. Anderson Aldrich, "The Relation of Pediatric Preventive Medicine to Mental Hygiene", *Psychosomatic Medicine* (New York, November 1945), vol. I, pp. 368-371.

The scientific research carried out in these clinics or in special Institutes aims at getting to the bottom of the post-war problems of educational psychology in the devastated countries, so that educational reforms may be adapted to the new requirements of children. Some of it is specialized and some of a more general interest.

First of all, there are the Institutes of Special Education, designed specifically for the diagnosis of deficiencies and the elaboration of the educational methods required to deal with them. An example is the Warsaw Institute, which has an orthophonic laboratory to deal with speech impediments, and an educational psychology laboratory attached to its normal laboratory for diagnosis. There is also a theoretical special education centre which prepares material suitable for the particular type of education required for the various categories of handicapped children, works out schemes, and puts them into practice when the necessary premises and material are available. Handwork, modelling, frequent excursions and the use in art of all the natural materials at hand, are the principal means employed by individual methods of re-education. The staff of the laboratory consists of psychologists, teachers and psychiatrists.

The Institute also holds three-year courses for the training of teachers for the special schools and trains Inspectors of special schools. The large towns have Consultation Centres set up by the Central Institute, the students of which are delegated to select abnormal children in the small centres. Half the teachers in special schools hold the Institute's Certificate; two hundred of these certified teachers disappeared during the war, but the pre-war figure is about to be reached again. Special education is compulsory; it covers nursery classes and primary, vocational and secondary education. The Institute is, in reality, the technical section of the Special Schools Division of the Ministry of Education.

Secondly, there are the Institutes of Applied Psychology and the Institutes of Education, which are carrying on research on a more general basis.

Czechoslovakia provides an example of the scope and co-ordination of these two types of activity at the national level. As vocational and educational guidance in senior education have been compulsory since 1946, the Institutes of Applied Psychology play a considerable part. In Prague, these services are part of the Institute of Manpower, which also acts as an Institute of Psychology. The Bratislava Branch which we visited in 1947 is divided into four departments:

One is specially designed for guiding school children in their studies and in the choice of a career. It has 42 provincial branches in which specialized psychologists advise teachers and parents; The second deals with diagnosis and the placing of difficult or backward children by means of intelligence tests supplemented

by personality tests (and so acts as a medical and child guidance centre);

The third deals with psychological research, and has two psychologists, two sociologists and two physiologists; it is concerned in particular with emotional disturbances brought to a head by the war and psychological disorders in Jewish children on their return from deportation, as well as with problems arising from misunderstanding at home; all the specialists at the Institute are moreover, members of the Psychological Society;

The fourth department, which does not deal with children, is a body for consultation on professional matters.

The Comenius Institute of Educational Research in Prague, with its two branches at Brno and Bratislava, has a very comprehensive programme of research, parts of which are of direct interest for our study:

A department of educational anthropology is studying the phenomena of child growth and developing school health services;

A department dealing with the education of young people by means of art is working on a study of aesthetic training; it criticizes children's literature, analyses the importance of the aesthetic sense in the construction of adventure stories and carries out direct research on young people's understanding of plot construction in literary works; it produces a bibliography of children's literature and organizes theatrical performances for young people, including puppet shows, particularly in the country districts; it selects entertainment films, and musical works suitable for the psychology of children, and studies the visual arts and the art of movement; the children's creative talent is examined by asking them to do illustrations for folk-tales;

An educational film department is helping in audio-visual education; films for use in all classes have been prepared since the war;

A psychological department is studying the problems of adapting education to the child's psychological development and is carrying out research, *inter alia*, on differences between individuals, handicapped children, and the vocation of the teacher. The influence of heredity and environment is being studied in collaboration with the departments of biology and sociology; special attention is given to the relations between pupils, teachers and parents and the life of the class as a whole;

The department of applied educational methods organizes the independent activities of school-children in consultation with the Federation of Youth, takes part, with the other organizations concerned, in the "Children's Joy Week", prepares textbooks and evolves methods of using special auxiliary teaching material. The relations between the school and life are being

studied in a special research programme with particular reference to holiday and youth camps.

A further interesting step was taken in a survey comprising 15,000 files on the psychological injuries suffered by young people during the occupation.

EDUCATIONAL METHODS AND THE UNDERSTANDING OF CHILDREN AND THEIR NEEDS

From the practical descriptions of the condition of war-handicapped children (with the empirical knowledge their situation brought us) and from a survey of the continuing efforts made by technical and scientific organizations, we may conclude that the re-education of children, like education itself, must fulfil the needs of their psychological development and make up for the frustrations they suffered in certain stages of their education. Even if it were possible to "teach" children without knowing how they developed, it is possible to "educate" only what we know is in them. That knowledge will lay the foundation for mental health, indicate the appropriate methods to ensure normal development and correct stunted growth or malformation due to environment; it will help us to understand the interaction of the individual and the social being and will demonstrate to us that the laws governing the health of society are the same as those governing that of the individual.

We have seen how difficult this task is because the science of child development is still in the preliminary stage, suitable educational methods have not yet been evolved for the different cases to be found among children of all ages, or applied to all children, and because the world of the grown-ups who are themselves the victims of the old methods of collective education, is still often lacking in understanding and ability.

The facts already known are, however, sufficient for us to lay the foundation of re-education; the following gives an idea of the essential data:

The psychological development of a child is a continuing process of self-education, with successive stages characterized by different centres of interest (from infancy to adult life—organic functions, sense and motor experiments, complex activity, sentiment, intellectual analysis). The speed of development varies from one child to another, but the order is always the same and any irregularity in the course of growth has repercussions on the subsequent stages.

During the years representing any one stage, a child masters a particular function only after a series of failures and successes.

First of all, he shows an awkward and indiscriminating enthusiasm for the centre of interest; then he embarks on a gradual analysis which entails successive exercises carried out with increasing precision and success; finally he masters a situation which he comprehends intellectually as the development of a given result; he has discovered and tested the law which governs his experience. In this respect, Professor Piaget's work gives typical findings.

We see then that a child needs freedom to use his own methods and to take as long a time as he requires. Each individual undertakes an experiment with his own intellectual and emotional resources, at the rate appropriate to his own energy, and with the degree of skill already acquired at earlier stages. Any external compulsion which takes the place of the ego's initiative hinders the operation of the process of self-education; the child may be able to reproduce passively a particular experience, but he will remain incapable of mastering a new situation or even one which is similar.

Moreover, such freedom is the prerequisite for that complete and happy concentration of the mind, without which no education is possible. Compulsion shatters it and represses some of the child's intellectual energy; apart from the disorders which arise from this repression, the mind no longer has sufficient energy to solve successfully the problems with which it is faced. This spontaneous and happy concentration which mobilizes the full resources of the individual will help the teacher to recognize, judging by the object to which it is directed, the stage of development through which the child is passing; the degree of experience achieved will indicate how far the stage has progressed.

All the child's faculties are involved in this concentration, but we must not make the mistake of thinking that they are all yet mastered or that all have been tried out. The teacher must be aware of this fact if he is to encourage reasonable effort while safe-guarding weak points, and to allow the proper degree of freedom while giving the necessary help and support. A child naturally asserts his independence with regard to experiences calling into play a faculty already developed; he demands freedom for a faculty which is in the experimental stage; and he relies with unquestioning confidence upon the adult when he has to deal with faculties which have not yet entered his field of interest and which do not yet encourage him to acquire experience.

For instance, at the stage in which activity is the overriding interest (generally from 6 to 12 years), a child who has been correctly trained should already be in control of the elementary sensory and motor functions which have previously been acquired; he has reached the stage of being introduced to complex activity. Intelligence and the emotions are involved in that activity but are not themselves subjected to analysis. Difficulties or failures encountered

in activity, which is the child's opportunity of experience, will have an educational value; emotional injuries, on the otherhand, will be merely harmful. Similarly, intelligence takes a purely practical form, in the service of activity; as soon as the analytical faculty loses its practical support, it is incapable of coping with the abstract. At this stage of development, therefore, the teacher should stimulate interest in activity and allow it free play, and at the same time should take care to avoid emotional harm and over-abstract intellectual demands. The adolescent will demand emotional experience and, later, intellectual experience in the purely abstract form. In other words, the child gradually emerges, at every stage, from his "symbiosis" with the adult, and little by little integrates the results of his new experiences into his personality.¹

This conception of the progress of the psychological development of a child gives us a practical ground for what so many teachers dealing with the re-education of unfortunate or handicapped children have grasped intuitively and are already putting into practice in such an enlightened way. In those cases, moreover, the work is made still more complicated by the frustration suffered in earlier stages, through the emotional injury, and the inhibition and anti-social distortion of the ego which it entailed. The teacher must therefore begin by building up between himself and the child a strong bond of mutual confidence and respect; at the same time he should endeavour to awaken a normal centre of interest by surrounding the child with suitable opportunities for experiment. He will then encourage the child to make those experiments, allowing him the necessary freedom; they should finally result in the child's acquiring self-control and being reabsorbed smoothly into the life of society.

Experience has proved that such freedom is never anti-social, but is the requisite condition for the complete and happy concentration by which the child may surmount difficulty. The sense of satisfaction produced by work freely undertaken removes the competitive fever found in collective education; the delight in co-operating takes the place of the desire to compete.

For that reason, "autonomy" is recommended not only in school work but in the social life of out-of-school activities or the community. The Trogen Conference, which studied at length the question of "self-government", showed that its value in education lay in the scope for initiative which it offered the children and not in the apparent copying of the adult world.

If such initiative is to be truly a factor in building up independence and self-discipline, it must be stimulated by the child's spontaneous

¹ J. E. Marcault et Thérèse Brosse, *L'Éducation de demain. La biologie de l'esprit et ses applications pédagogiques*, 2^e éd. Paris, Adyar, 1949.

interest, the object of which, as we have seen, varies according to his age; the teacher must be capable of creating for the child situations which will inspire him to action in accordance with his needs. The attraction which activity holds for children of school age has been used for countless educational purposes. Many war-handicapped children, however, are now adolescents and, at that age, it is the motive for activity, its emotional aspect, which inspires young people, and great efforts are necessary if education is to be imbued with that emotional interest and if opportunities for healthy and productive experiences are to be provided for its exercise. For instance, the part played by art as an exercise in emotional control is of prime importance in this respect. Educationists have called it into play, guided by an intuitive understanding of the needs of adolescents. Scientific institutions are also carrying out research on this subject, as we have seen. Similarly, Unesco's first Seminar on International Understanding, in 1947, devoted part of its time to the educational problems of adolescence, and "the education of the emotions" was specially studied.¹

Where war-handicapped children are concerned, it is particularly essential to develop such methods because the emotional injuries they suffered were so serious and so prolonged, and because we are aware of the unity of a child's psychological development through time. Each period promotes or hinders the development of that which follows, depending upon whether or not it has been successfully passed. Among the children with whom we are concerned, the youngest did not benefit in infancy from the psychological protection which is so important in the formation of habits, and children under school age did not attend kindergartens, which would to some extent have remedied the injury caused by the break-up of the family and have begun the education for independence which is essential in early childhood as a foundation for future development. The Prague Conference on Childhood Education, held in 1948,² showed clearly how such education could support and supplement education at home. In many countries, a high proportion of young children already receive such Education, and some governments are taking an interest in the child's right to be educated at that period of his life and have not waited until material conditions are better to introduce it as a compulsory measure.

Post-war educational reconstruction is being carried on in the light of the analysis of psychological disorders in children, which

¹ Thérèse Brosse. *Education of the Emotions in Relation to International Understanding*. Working Papers of the Seminar in Education for International Understanding, 1947, Series B. No. 4, Paris, Unesco, 1947. (Sem. Rep. 11), 23 pp.
² Conseil mondial de l'Éducation pré-scolaire CMEP, *Rapport de la Conférence tenue à l'Université Charles à Prague*, 26, 27, 28 août 1948, Paris, 1949, p. 6.

in the present circumstances, unfortunately, present wide scope for experiment. Efforts must therefore be made to reorganize education, taking into account its successive stages and without overlooking any of the educational factors proper to the child's age. Re-education should not only encourage the use of the best methods during actual school life, but should also bear in mind that school life is only an intermediate stage in the psychological development of the child, and that the problems of early childhood and adolescence are no less important.

To sum up the work at present being done to ensure continuity in the education of children, it might be said that:

The psychological health of infants is now being more and more closely considered by public health authorities responsible for initiating the training of families, doctors and nurses;

Pre-school education, to allow the young personality to find harmonious self-expression by developing the sensory and motor faculties, is now being dealt with by the World Organization for Early Childhood Education which was set up at the Prague Conference in 1948. This body should be able to do outstanding service in education;

The methods of the activity school and the many adaptations of the Decroly technique are now employed on a wide scale in primary schools. All that remains to be done is to extend their application still further;

At the "emotional" stage of adolescence, work is less organized. In considering "adapted" education, we cannot, however, be content until we are in a position to satisfy the needs of all ages. The work of the New Education Fellowship and the Decroly and Montessori Congresses (to mention only three organizations) provides an instance of this continuing progress, and the many activities which are not yet co-ordinated already furnish a guarantee of further development;

At the next stage in adolescence, specifically intellectual interests find full satisfaction in traditional education as it was formerly understood. Since it appealed to abstract intelligence, however, it was a serious mistake to use it in dealing with every stage of child development, for it was not appropriate to satisfy each special requirement.

From this brief survey, it appears that, though much still remains to be done in the field of practical application, the needs are now known, at least in broad outline. A vast co-operative effort throughout the world is essential today if the society of tomorrow is to be provided with educational institutions which truly embody the ideal of our contemporary understanding.

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

When education was simply an exhibition of culture, what was important was the teacher's knowledge and keen intelligence. Now, as education becomes more complex, it calls also for more complex qualifications, not only in the teacher but in all the adults co-operating in the work. What is important is no longer simply what the teacher *knows*, but what he *is*. For his task is continually to inspire, and his qualities of mind and heart as well as his intellect are called into play in the work of education. His enterprise, his grasp of life, his breadth of understanding, his enthusiasm for the work and his affection for the child will help the latter to grow and develop his own originality.

All or most of these qualities should be found in all those responsible for children's education, whoever they may be. Not only professional teachers come under this heading, but all the grown-ups or even the older children whose relations with the child will influence, consciously or not, his education. Under this definition there are numerous categories of educators, each of which requires special training. We shall review them all briefly.

First of all there are the schoolteachers; their training raises three problems—

- a) The problem of recruitment on a large scale. As we saw, when discussing educational backwardness, the reduction in the numbers of teachers after the war has necessitated the training of new teachers urgently and at greater speed. Governments have already taken the necessary temporary measures and are developing plans for more comprehensive training for the future;
- b) The problem of training teachers for handicapped children, which we have already considered in connection with special schools and institutions for special education;
- c) The problem of supplementary training, so that all teachers shall have a sufficient knowledge of child psychology to be able to work usefully with the technical experts who are to assist them. In some countries, a certain number of teachers have already been specially trained in psychology and take the place of psychological experts. A general picture of the present situation in this matter is given in one of the most recent publications of the International Bureau of Education.¹

In close connection with the problem of the education of war handicapped children and particularly of children who, having lost their families, have to be brought up in a community, there is another very specialized group of educators to be considered. These

¹ *School Psychologists, op. cit.*

are the Monitors, who are concerned particularly with the education of children in their social environment outside the school. Courses and colleges for the training of such workers were improvised everywhere under the pressure of circumstances. A typical centre is the International Course for Monitors at Geneva, which in an international community, trains people to work in children's homes. Three hundred students from 15 nations have already been given theoretical and practical training there (with periods of practical work) and have thus been initiated in the study of children's homes, children themselves, education through community life and children's activities. The atmosphere of honesty and international understanding which surrounds this training makes the young monitors true citizens of the world.¹

So far as the staff of rehabilitation homes are concerned, the seminars arranged by the International Union for Child Welfare in April 1949 showed the need for considering all the administrative, technical or assistant staff of the institution as educational workers. The whole environment has a responsibility for education through which the child is to recover his emotional balance. It is therefore important that care should be exercised in the recruitment, admission and selection of candidates.

With regard to the personal and social training proposed for those who are to educate maladjusted children, we may say that the conditions necessary for those who are to guide the social misfits among children are equally desirable for monitors who are to work with war-handicapped children, as the latter always raise problems in education, in one way or another. These workers have to be given a thorough knowledge of child psychology and an opportunity to learn and to develop the educational methods appropriate to meet the needs of individual children. This should be the aim and the guiding principle in any syllabus of technical and practical study.

As for the teams of medical, psychological and educational workers, with which we dealt at length in an earlier chapter, constant efforts are being devoted to their training in the specialized centres we have considered. Important measures at the international level have been taken by bodies such as UNICEF, SEPEG and the "Don Suisse" to train teachers, medical psychologists, social workers with qualifications in psychiatry and specially trained nurses. The syllabus of such courses generally includes the educational and psychological problems of war-handicapped children.

Many opportunities for further study abroad, which is so essential for educational workers in the devastated countries, who have

¹ Guy Ryser, *The International Course for "Monitors" at Geneva*, the training of educators for children's homes in an international community. Report presented at Meeting of Directors of Children's Villages, 4-11 July 1948, Trogen, Switzerland, Paris, 20 June 1948. (Unesco/ED/Conf. 1/6).

been unable for years to keep abreast of developments elsewhere, are provided by the fellowships instituted either by governments or by national or international organizations. We may mention, for information, the fellowships offered by the Rotary International, the International Federation of University Women, the Lord Mayor's Fund and, in particular, those offered by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies such as WHO, UNICEF and Unesco. Among the "Unesco Reconstruction Fellowships", those which interest us most directly are intended to assist study of the progress recently achieved in work on the sociological or psychological aspects of the development and behaviour of children at home, in the community and at school, in relation to war-handicapped children.

We have so far dealt mainly with the training of professional educational workers. But we must not forget that the training of the family is also extremely important. The beginnings of such training may be seen everywhere, sometimes by means of parents' clubs associated with the schools, sometimes by means of child guidance consultations which are at least as necessary for the parents as for the children—we have seen that some consultations services specialize particularly in such work. Occasionally more formal courses are organized, such as the "Courses in Family Education" which were given in France at the Paris Faculty of Medicine during the academic year 1948-1949.

The part played by the family was brought out particularly at the Conference convened by the Government of the United Kingdom, whose work we reported broadly when discussing the problem of anti-social attitudes.¹ The family shares the major responsibility for education with the school and, in fact, up to the age of 15, a child's time is divided between the school and the family and he often spends the larger portion of it at home. Very close and continuous co-operation between the school and family is therefore necessary to achieve results in education. This co-operation must mean much more than discussions and lectures in associations or clubs. If the danger that the child may be torn between two constantly conflicting methods of education used by the teachers and the parents is to be avoided, the latter must take part in the life of the school and extend that life without disrupting the child's accustomed régime at different times of the day. Where the parents agree to make toys, school equipment and clothes for the child, serious disagreements can certainly be avoided. The International Union of Family Agencies is doing a considerable amount of work to assemble an international body of material dealing with the evolution of the family environment in relation to the child's needs.

¹ "Juvenile Delinquency". *School Government Chronicle* (London, March 1949), vol. CXLII, p. 311.

The educational importance of out-of-school activities is now recognized also and, since the war and especially in the devastated countries, youth movements have acquired a primordial importance, as an educational factor, in the rehabilitation of war-handicapped children, where older children and adolescents are concerned. Even during the war, young people were trained for life in society by taking part in the life of the nation. They are now at one, in all the liberated countries, in their desire to be not simply the passive object of education; the eldest of them say that the most efficacious method of education demands active participation. In Finland in 1943, 400,000 children of school age, between 9 and 16, did voluntary work which brought the equivalent of 10,000,000 Swiss francs; educationists emphasize the moral value of such co-operation.¹ But, above all, youth movements organized on a permanent basis offer the fullest opportunities for education. They in fact correspond to the children's needs, and their desire to be independent of the adult world and to live in a community; they give them an opportunity to take a share in "self-government" and, in such movements as the Scouts, to derive inspiration from hero worship and the enterprise demanded by life in the open air. Finally, they sometimes provide also an experience of international life at rallies or camps.

In the devastated countries, all the youth movements, which had already been working heroically in the underground movement, took an active part in the reconstruction of the life of the nation, cared for orphans and, above all, systematically organized young people's education on as broad a basis as possible—art work, children's libraries, debating societies with intellectual and social interests. A list of so many national or international groups would be too long to give in full. We may mention, at random, that in France it is estimated that one seventh of the young people are affiliated with some movement and that, in Poland, the number of young people enrolled in the various movements seems to be in the region of 1,500,000.

We have seen the part which youth movements can play in the re-education of delinquent children and social misfits in general; many homes for controlled education have their own Scout troop, and its activities play a useful part in the rehabilitation of the children. It is interesting to remark that, at the 1947 Jamboree, when the leaders of the Scout movement discussed this question, they discovered that most of them were specialists on the subject: directors or teachers in special boarding-schools, children's judges or

¹ Union internationale de Secours aux Enfants, XXII^e session du Conseil général, Genève (17-21 September 1946). "Rapports d'activités d'organisations membres et déclarations diverses." B. Nyberg, Finlande", *Revue internationale de l'Enfant* (Genève 1946), vol. X, nos 4-6. p. 91.

doctors, social or child psychiatry workers, specialized government officials, etc.

The Director of the College of Monitors at Geneva said he wished that each of his students "should develop his full potentialities". That is equally true of the youth movements and was expressed in other words by Baden-Powell. It is therefore important, as one leader has pointed out, that a Youth Movement should not be at the service of a limited ideology: "The purpose of education, and therefore of a youth movement, should be to develop the personalities of their members so that they may become free men and women capable of making their own choice."¹ A large number of young people's associations are therefore necessary; it is one of the duties of governments to play their part in the provision of such training, which goes far beyond mere teaching and is designed to "make men".

CO-ORDINATION OF THE WORK OF THE BODIES TAKING PART IN THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

So comprehensive a scheme of education makes it necessary to mobilize all the vital forces of a country and consequently to co-ordinate work for the nation as a whole. In particular, we have seen the increasingly close links, in practice, between teachers, doctors, jurists and social workers; these links should have their counterparts in the national administrative system. In theory, moreover, scientific research is also concerned. The health services take part in education—for instance, the Belgian National League for Mental Health proclaimed in its programme for the seminar in November 1948, "Every child is entitled to teaching adapted to his requirements."

As we have seen, in certain countries, national associations are trying to co-ordinate work in this way, but it is important that there should be complete centralization within each country and that all the official or private bodies dealing with children should be included. Under the *Children Act* of July 5, 1948, England is dealing with the child in need of care and protection. Some central body is necessary in every nation to co-ordinate work already in progress, to institute new undertakings and, above all, to prepare a general plan which would impart cohesion and unity to work which admits of no imperfection or omission. In the next chapter we shall see what movements there are towards co-operation and co-ordination on an international scale.

¹ Henri Joubrel, "Mouvements de jeunesse", *Culture humaine* (Paris, June 1948), vol. X, p. 363.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Those organizing aid for war-handicapped children have enlisted the services of a large number of international bodies. Immediately after the Liberation, the *United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration*, UNRRA, sent to the scene of action teams of workers who for several years were, among other things, to provide a continuing service for children in the devastated countries. But apart from this emergency work which has now been brought to a close, bodies were set up with special programmes to carry out, and large private institutions—especially those concerned with children—are devoting their main efforts to the interests of these countless victims of the war.

In the course of our survey we made contact with a number of these bodies, for the purpose of obtaining documentation or of considering possible ways of co-operating with them. A brief summary of their work will enable us to define more clearly what Unesco's specific task should be in a field that is so vast, important and permanent as to be of prime concern in all international circles.

OFFICIAL INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The United Nations and the Specialized Agencies have in hand programmes that are closely connected with Unesco's.

"The welfare of child war victims, including re-education of children physically, mentally or morally handicapped,¹ and "The prevention of crime and treatment of offenders" (in co-operation with intergovernmental organizations specializing in this field) are topics that have been dealt with by the *United Nations Social Commission* in 1948 and 1949, in accordance with the programme laid down by the Third Session of the Economic and Social Council.

A Conference of these specialized intergovernmental organizations met in Paris in October 1948, and adopted a resolution speci-

¹ United Nations. Economic and Social Council. *Official Records, Third Year: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 8, Report of the Social Commission*. Lake Success, N. Y., 1948 (E/779, 6 May 1948), p. 28.

fying that recourse would be had to Unesco on the educational aspects of the problem; this Conference selected, from the general programme, those questions which fall within the scope of our work.

"The rehabilitation of children and adolescents of countries which were victims of aggression"¹ represents the programme of the *International Children's Emergency Fund* (UNICEF) which was established by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 11 December, 1946; by its terms of reference, the Fund is more especially associated with the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization. However, as regards the training of staff for work on behalf of children, UNICEF assists in financing the training of teams of medico-psycho-educational workers and occasionally carries out investigations of educational needs (for example, in Germany, where it studies the material circumstances of neglected children).² This material assistance which UNICEF can provide in all kinds of educational work therefore cannot fail to interest Unesco.

The resettlement of displaced children in a permanent environment which is essential to their effective re-education is dealt with by the *International Refugee Organization* (IRO). At the Congress of the International Union for Child Welfare, held at Stockholm in August, 1948, the representatives of IRO and Unesco worked together on the same Commission on stateless children. The seriousness of certain social aspects of educational problems is bound to increase and will demand closer co-operation between the two Organizations.

The organization of medico-psycho-educational assistance for children and the definition of the conditions of mental health which should guide any sound education or re-education fall within the scope of the *World Health Organization* (WHO), which has a temporary office for the rehabilitation of the war-devastated countries. Its work is essentially complementary to that of Unesco, as evidenced by the participation of these two Organizations in the United Nations programme for the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders.

Vocational guidance, the training of the adolescent for life in the community after leaving school and the rehabilitation by means of work of persons formerly maladjusted are the concern of the *International Labour Organization* (ILO).

Among the various international institutions, a special position

¹ United Nations. *International Children's Emergency Fund. Today's Children To-morrow's Leaders*. Lake Success, N. Y. April 1947, p. 5.

² Economic and Social Council. *United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. The Condition and Needs of German Children in the U.S., U.K., and French Zones*. By the UNICEF Survey team: A. P. Meiklejohn, S. M. Keeny and C. E. Raiha. Paris, 10 June 1948. (E/ICEF/71, 18 June 1948), 39 pp.

is occupied by the *International Bureau of Education* (IBE), a body set up for purposes of documentation and survey, which has for years placed its world-wide educational activities at the service of governments and private institutions. Through its working contacts, Unesco is establishing close co-operation with the IBE for the purpose of collecting information and carrying out every type of educational research. The international conferences on education, organized by the IBE in co-operation with Unesco, are resulting, as we have seen, in the discovery of certain general solutions to the problem of re-educating war-handicapped children, as part of the problems of education in general. The IBE's bibliography also has proved invaluable in assembling information on educational reconstruction in the devastated countries.

PRIVATE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS

There are many bodies with which Unesco has established useful collaboration. Material reconstruction, intellectual and moral rehabilitation and co-operation with private agencies are the aims adopted by the *Temporary International Council for Educational Reconstruction* (TICER) founded over a year ago, and comprising some thirty international non-governmental organizations which take an active interest in the rehabilitation of educational institutions in the devastated countries. The Council comprises 700 national organizations in some 60 countries.

Special mention should be made of the *International Conference on Social Services*, an organization now twenty years old, which has adapted itself to post-war problems and is working under the auspices of TICER. The Psychology Section provides the annual meetings with contributions from experts whose views on the problems that concern us are valuable. The documentation communicated to us personally by the President of this organization and its Assistant Secretary-General for Europe has enabled us to work out certain general proposals on the educational problems of war-handicapped children.

The *International Federation of Children's Communities* (IFCC), another member of TICER, established in accordance with the resolutions of the Conference of Directors of Children's Villages, convened by Unesco at Trogen (Switzerland) in July, 1948, investigates problems raised by the education of war-handicapped children. This agency could offer Unesco most useful assistance in evolving the technical detail of new educational methods and in carrying out practical experiments.

The protection and welfare of children, investigations into the educational needs of children, the problems of delinquents and

children socially maladjusted as a result of the war, and the problem of training teachers is a field in which the *International Union for Child Welfare* (IUCW) is making a most valuable contribution. It is an amalgamation of two great international enterprises (International Union for Child Rescue and the International Association for Child Welfare) and at present comprises 44 organizations in thirty countries and several other international undertakings; it is accordingly in a position to play a vital part in solving the problems of war-handicapped children.

Investigations which IUCW is carrying out into the educational needs of children and the steps it is taking to meet them, are opening up an ever wider field for Unesco's educational surveys, where co-operation with the Union is proving very fruitful. Through its *International Children's Bulletin*, the records of its Congresses and its specialized publications, IUCW also provides Unesco with documentary material of undoubted value.

In addition to its other activities, IUCW has organized a Conference of Experts for the study of post-war juvenile delinquency—a specially important educational problem of war-handicapped children—as well as seminars on the education of delinquent children. In collaboration with Unesco and SEPEG, IUCW is at present preparing for an international Meeting of Experts on the problems raised by the education of sick and crippled children to be held in 1950.

The International Study Weeks for Child Victims of the War (SEPEG, members of IUCW) are for their part endeavouring to consider the problem of education on a democratic and spiritual basis and to determine the most suitable means of "promoting the universality of thought".

A week after the close of hostilities, this body held its first international meetings at Zurich; technical, educational and social experts in child welfare were present. Their object was to discover supra-national solutions to the burning questions of the hour, to assist children in every aspect of their lives and to resettle them in their own families, in their countries and in the world.

The different sections (social, medico-psychological, education of deficient children, protection and rights of children, culture, schooling and leisure) each contribute towards solving problems of interest to us.

Mention should be made here of the *International Red Cross Society*, which, through its various subsidiary bodies—International Committee, League of Red Cross Societies, National Committees, Junior Red Cross — is a member of TICER and IUCW and has supplied valuable statistics on orphans and physically handicapped children.

The League of National Societies and of National Committees

is helping to establish and maintain certain educational enterprises on behalf of war-handicapped children (children's communities)—the Swiss Red Cross, American Red Cross and Junior Red Cross.

Very full and valuable documentation has also been supplied to us by the *O.S.E. Union* and the *O.R.T. World Union*, which are both members of TICER.

Many other private international agencies, which cannot all be mentioned, have established very useful contacts with Unesco, and there is reason to hope that these relations will be further developed.

The preceding summary indicates that these bodies and organizations collaborating in assisting war-handicapped children and handicapped or distressed children in general are not merely concerned with meeting the most urgent needs of young people who are suffering in every aspect of their lives. Institutions and types of work designed to readjust those children to ordinary life, are planned in accordance with modern conceptions, so that these children may benefit from the most recent scientific discoveries.

One of the spheres is education. Here Unesco can play its part by pointing out the technical problems, and the prerequisites for their solution. In the course of this report we have seen how the educational implications of each social problem can be brought out and light thrown upon the educational aspects of their inevitably complex solutions.

In this work as a whole, therefore, there is no overlapping to be feared, for it is an advantage that various experts should study a given problem jointly, as do the medico-psycho-educational teams. What matters is co-ordination, and for this many experts appeal. One of them, for example, has suggested that "All the international institutions—Unesco, SEPEG, ICUW—should unite their efforts with a view to promoting educational centres in every country, putting methods of education into practice and providing effective aid for war-handicapped children."¹

Among all these efforts, the importance of international congresses sponsored by some of the above-mentioned institutions or other technical associations should not be overlooked. They constantly raise different aspects of the problem of treating and that of preventing cases of handicap, dealing with both problems as part of the general question of what large-scale educational measures are required. Most of these international meetings, realizing the part that Unesco can play in this work, pass final resolutions

¹ Heuyer, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

containing an appeal to our Organization. Some examples drawn from the record of these conferences that have been organized in Europe since the end of hostilities suffice to show the similarity of the educational problems occupying the minds of those dealing with children's education everywhere.

In 1945, the International Study Weeks for Child Victims of the War was already drawing up a list of the educational measures to be taken emphasizing the need for the co-ordination of all health, legal, and social services of an educational character to meet the educational needs of children.

In 1947, at the meeting of experts organized by the International Union for Child Welfare, Dr. Strauss (Great Britain) proposed a recommendation for transmission to Unesco, drawing attention to the fact that defective education was an important cause of the increase of juvenile delinquency, and emphasizing the need for international action with a view to making the isolated efforts in this direction more effective. As a result, the Executive Committee of IUCW transmitted to Unesco, among its recommendations, a request for assistance for the purpose of re-establishing and developing educational and social services designed to prevent the moral corruption of youth and to facilitate the social readjustment of maladjusted children.¹

In 1948, the Conference of Directors of Children's Communities defined the educational methods most suitable for the education of war-handicapped children, and set up an International Federation of Children's Communities, to work in close co-operation with Unesco. The same year, one of the Unesco Seminars for International Understanding (the seminar concerned with children) set up a special commission to study the educational problems of war-handicapped children. Similarly, the World Conference on Pre-School Education made an appeal to Unesco, pointing out the prime importance of education during infancy if a whole series of maladjustments is to be prevented.²

In September 1948, the International "Save Europe Now" Conference adopted the recommendation, "That an international institute for research into the scientific treatment of maladjustment and delinquency, and the problems concerned with the resettlement of young people, be established under the auspices of the United Nations Organization."³

Again, the preliminary international meeting on the treatment

¹ "The War and Juvenile Delinquency", *op. cit.*, p. 123.

² Conseil mondial de l'Éducation pré-scolaire CMEP, *op. cit.*, 35 pp.

³ Save Europe Now. International Conference on the Problems of Wayward, Vagrant and Endangered Children and Youth in Germany at Fredeburg Sauerland, 15th to 19th September 1948. *Report and Recommendations*. London, Save Europe Now, 1948, p. 3.

of crime and the prevention of delinquency, organized by the United Nations in October, 1948, in Paris, and in which Unesco took part, defined the international task in terms that corresponded to the recommendations which the above-mentioned conferences had adopted. The absolute priority assigned to this question by the Economic Council in the programme of the Division of Social Activities of the Department of Social Affairs clearly shows that it is the object of efforts that should be intensified and co-ordinated as effectively as possible.

Similarly, in 1949, the Fourth International Open-Air Education Conference, having defined the terms of co-operation between doctor and teacher and having treated the educational problem of handicapped individuals as part of the general problem of wider education, appealed to international organizations, and more especially to Unesco, to give its resolutions practical effect.

In conclusion, special mention should be made of the International Congress on Mental Health, held in London in 1948, which was attended by two thousand people and was an occasion of international significance in the combined fields of medicine and education.

The discussion at this Congress of the problems of mental health, considered in relation to human development and social health, represents a real turning-point in the history of medicine and education and the co-operation of both sciences for the good of mankind. The Committee which submitted the most reports, took as its subject for study "Mental Health and World Citizenship". We have already had occasion to mention how much stress was laid, in the work, on the rôle of education in the formation of social attitudes, particularly as regards international understanding. The Congress expressed regret that too few teachers had taken part in its work and recommended that more "real educational practitioners" should attend future Congresses.¹

Among the international recommendations approved by the Congress and among those addressed to Unesco, we shall mention the following two which are of particular importance in the field with which we are concerned:

"That since the value of including mental health activities in education departments is recognized, such inclusion be encouraged and strengthened wherever possible.

"That similar encouragements be given to scientists in the field of education in their efforts to base educational practice on the principles of human development." ²

¹ International Congress on Mental Health, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

² *Ibid.*, p. 319.

Many further examples might be quoted of these statements of the need for very close co-operation between all organizations and social services on behalf of children whose education is impaired. Sporadic attempts at co-ordination, important as they are, will be insufficient, whether they are made on the national or the international level. What is required is general organization. The International Union for Child Welfare, in a statement known as the "Geneva Declaration", formulated many years ago the Charter of the "Rights of the Child". Today, the United Nations, with the aid of these specialized organizations and particularly Unesco, are paying special attention to this matter. If such rights are to be put into practice, a Children's Bureau is required, which would not only deal with certain urgent aspects of the question, but would make success possible in the world-wide task of rehabilitation and education to secure, for the individual and society, that total health (physical, mental and spiritual) which is the essential for the building of a new civilization.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

An expert at the Trogen Conference, a specialist in the training of teachers responsible for re-educating war-handicapped children, used the following words: "We are less concerned today with the problem of war-handicapped children in the narrow sense than with that of the physical, moral and spiritual future of a whole generation".¹

Any study such as the present throws light on two considerations—the scope of the problem and its long duration.

Scope, if we consider that the European problems which already seem to us so overwhelming are neither in number nor in gravity the greatest, that hostilities have not yet everywhere come to an end and continue to claim millions of victims; and finally, that even the continents which have been least tried by the war are faced with important problems as regards the re-education of their children.

Duration, because convalescence will be long² and years will elapse before the terrible damage caused to these children by the war and its results can be completely repaired.³

In the face of this compelling problem which is already calling forth a world-wide effort, it is Unesco's task, not only to encourage and intensify research work that shall go to the very heart of the educational questions at issue, but also to make its contribution by collaborating closely with international bodies engaged in general relief work for children.

The whole social structure in which a child lives has an educational responsibility towards him, and no education is possible unless the adults at different levels in that structure carry out their mission and their duties. We may therefore sum up as follows, in broad outline, those measures which are essential to meet the manifold needs of children whose education and development has been hampered either by individual deficiencies or by social upheaval.

Firstly, in reconstructing the social environment, we must leave

¹ Ryser, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

A. Theodora Alcock, War-Strain among Evacuated Children. London, Tavistock Clinic, September 1941, p. 1.

² Conférences internationales du Service social, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

Meierhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

³ Jouhy, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

no gap which may endanger the child's security, which, as we have seen, is of fundamental importance in education. We must give stateless children a nationality, so that they may fit into a cultural heritage to which they are entitled; we must give children who have lost their families a home or the nearest possible substitute, with that personal link between adult and child on which all education is based; we must give the child deprived of schooling, whatever may be the circumstances and even if he is in a camp, teachers—specialized educational workers—whose duty it is to educate as they train. Outside school hours, we must also ensure that every child has a suitable environment in which he can serve his apprenticeship to life under the guidance of his elders, who can direct the games and activities proper to his years.

Such an environment would not, however, be enough unless the individual needs of every child were carefully investigated. It is not only important to take a systematic census of all children in whom there is some social or individual obstacle to education. It is no less essential to make a detailed survey of their physical, psychological and educational needs at an observation centre, in order to decide on the environment and the methods to be used in each case. Such a survey will make it possible to determine precisely what are the needs with regard to special education, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Lastly, a programme dealing with handicapped children would not be fully effective were it merely to provide for the rehabilitation of children who show obvious signs of disturbance, without contributing to the prevention of such defects. The investigation of the psychological problems which such children set our human understanding is a most useful means of perfecting normal educational methods; such study of handicapped children has in fact always been an essential factor in the development and improvement of educational methods. It is still more so today, when the problem of social attitudes is becoming so highly important, from the point of view of current social integration as well as from that of international understanding. Specialized educationists can and must carry out this pioneering work for the problem of education.

These complex problems derive from the rights of the child in education and, ultimately, from the rights of the child in every form, since there is not one of them which may not have some repercussion in education. Solutions must therefore be found by international co-operation on a very wide scale, to which every one of the competent organizations will make its own special contribution.

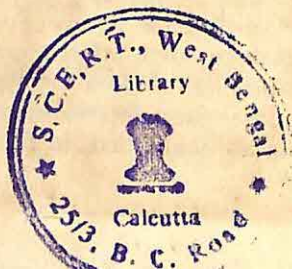
Unesco is already making some efforts to that end, by means of co-operation on a limited scale with some governments and organizations, and through international conferences and specialized congresses. But there is no doubt that, in future, our educational

... of the great form
of co-operation, such as is at present a Psychologic the United Nations in its programme for the prevention of crime and the treatment of delinquents.

Whether we are dealing with the problem of stateless or homeless children or those deprived of schooling, with the problem of individual deficiencies of every sort, physical or psychological, with the problem of the prevention of delinquency and the re-education of offenders, or with the educational problem of international understanding—in every case, international conferences, seminars, pilot projects and missions must be organized in co-operation. Agreements or conventions with governments which may help to measure the needs and to organize solutions must be considered widely on an international scale. There must also be highly complicated technical co-operation, for, as we have seen, all educational problems involve simultaneously problems of health, work, and welfare.

Today education is closely bound up with the whole problem of humanity, and this post-war period marks a turning-point in its history. As we have already said, experts are unanimously agreed that the psychological problems caused by this world cataclysm, are not, strictly speaking, war problems, but have brought to light on a grand scale and with spectacular effect, the social situations to which many abnormalities in children are attributable. In face of the emergency to which the war has given rise, psychologists have multiplied their investigations and redoubled their watchfulness, and teachers have strained their ingenuity to apply or to extend the use of educational methods which they had hitherto had neither the opportunity nor the courage to put into practice. Under the pressure of circumstances, a tremendous effort to understand children and give them the best possible education has been made throughout the world.

This new stage, which calls for the widest co-operation, will not be concerned only with rehabilitation; it will be designed to assist human progress as a whole, by making it possible for young people, even if handicapped, to overcome their deficiencies and play a constructive part in the future of the world.



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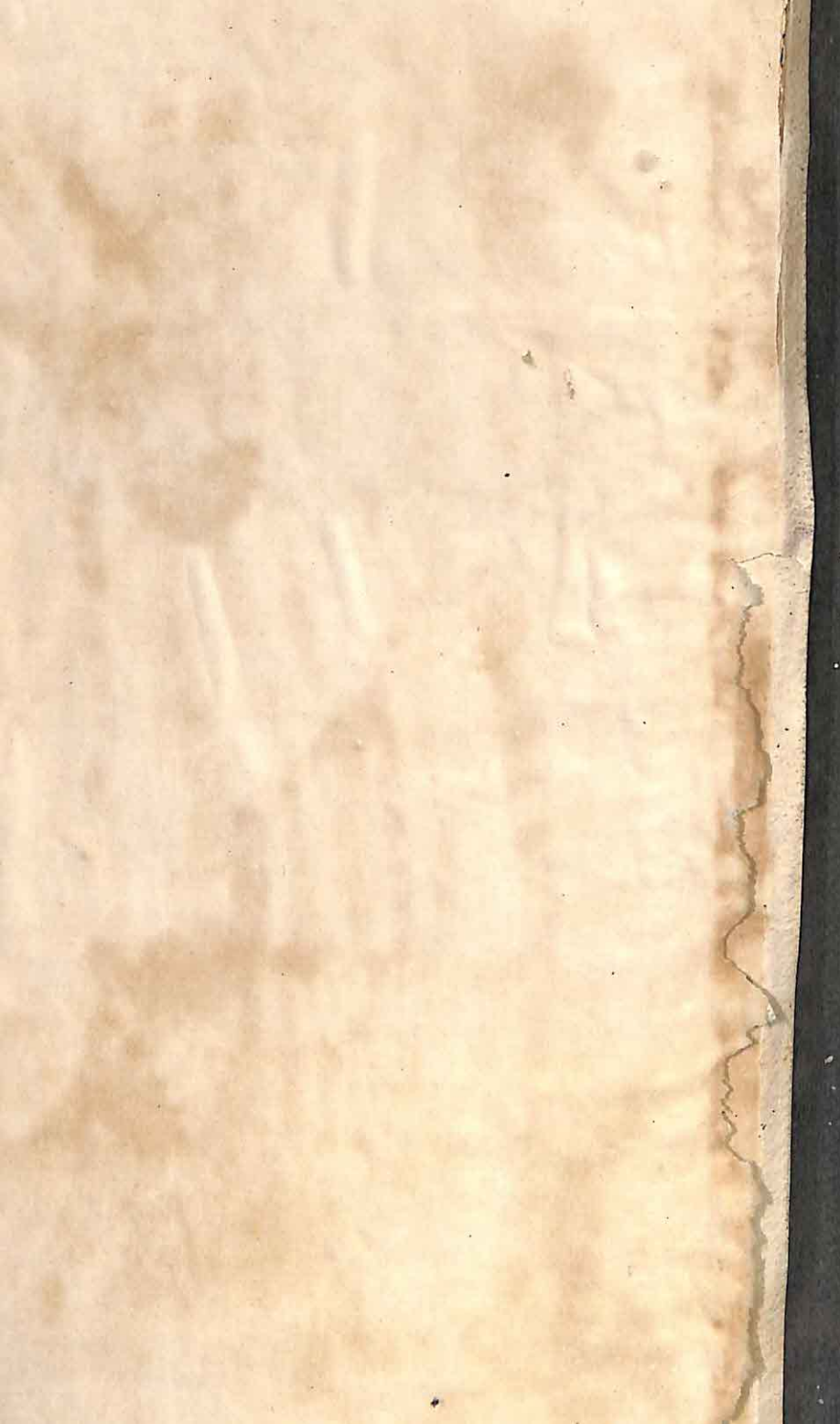


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